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Giovanni Delli Zotti

THE TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS OF FRIULI-VENETIA JULIA

A dissertation submitted for the doctoral degree
in the Department of Political and Social Sciences.



Board of Examiners: Prof. Rudolf Wildenmann, Chairman
Prof. Hans Daalder, Supervisor
Prof. Umberto Gori, Co-supervisor
Prof. Alessandro Pizzorusso

Florence, 1981

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CHAPTER I

TYPOLOGIES OF ACTORS AND MODELS IN

INTER-/TRANS-NATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Typologies of actors and models in inter-/trans-national relations

1.1. The classic paradigm of international relations

International relations, in the classical model, are seen as bi- or multi-polar interactions of units (the nation-states) that, exercising their autonomous foreign policies, try to take the greater advantage from the international environment. This model of the international system is completed and complicated by the presence of alliances and, later, of Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs). But this development does not change fundamentally the classic paradigm because the constituent units of these organizations are always nation-states. The metaphor usually employed to describe this model of international relations is the "billiard-ball model".

In the words of C. Alger: "The 'billiard ball model' long guided research and teaching. It assumes that nation-states are unitary actors in international systems. It also assumes that nation states are the most important actors, deeming it unnecessary to subject this assumption to empirical testing" (1) (cfr. fig. 1).

Hans Morgenthau and Raymond Aron can be cited here as the most important exponents of the so called "political realism" (2). These authors are linked by a common belief thus summarized by Arend Lijphart: "Les spécialistes des relations internationales qui préfèrent les méthodes traditionnelles adoptent généralement le modèle de l'hierarchie internationale, choisissent l'Etat-nation comme unité d'analyse, ont des objectifs orientés vers l'action et ne croient pas qu'on puisse édifier une théorie générale satisfaisante de leur spécialité" (3).

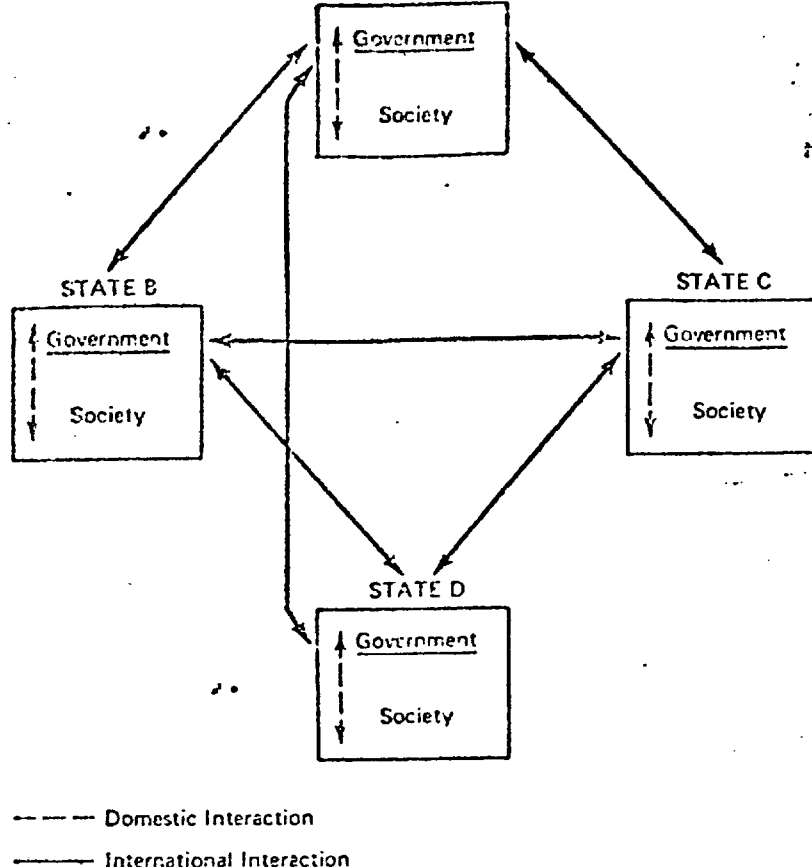


Fig. 1: The State-Centric (Billiard-Ball) Model.

Source: R.W.MANSBACH et al. , The web of world politics, p.4

1.2. Major criticisms against state-centric realism

We will not insist here on the description of the classical paradigm of international relations.

This model does not seem to be adequate any longer to grasp the entire reality of the system of international relations. The major challenges to it come from the increased relevance, on the international scene, of some (relatively) new actors. The awareness of the inadequacy of the state-centric paradigm seems to be clear to the scholars that are dedicating more and more time and effort to the study of such relevant actors as the multinational corporations, or some international non-governmental organizations (INGOs: e.g. Red Cross International and the guerrilla movements of Palestine), and to the developing of new, more comprehensive models.

To summarize the most important changes in world politics that makes the state-centric realism obsolete, J.S. Nye can be cited, who lists:

- "a) the changing role of military force,
- b) the increased role of communications across borders,
- c) the degree of government involvement in the provision of economic welfare,
- d) the increase in the number of issues in international politics,
- e) the increased role of non-state actors which in a sense could be said to have private foreign policies in their own,
- f) the management of foreign policy (there are direct contacts among what were once considered domestic bureaucracies of different governments)" (4).

J. Rosenau presents a list of changes, which for certain aspects can be added to that of J.S. Nye: "one (change) is the proliferation of macro units (actors). A second is the substantive decline in the capacity of the governments to meet the challenges and, indeed, to govern. A third is the extensive mushrooming of subgroup loyalties and a corresponding growth of divisiveness in national communities. A fourth is the growing demand for a redistribution of wealth on the part of disadvantaged groups and nations. And a fifth is the broad expansion of the range of issues about which macro units conflict" (5).

All these changes can be summarized into two broad groups:

- a) changes that affected the number and the type of the "relevant" actors of the international relations and, b) changes in the modes of interaction among these old and "new" actors.

1.3. Alternative paradigms of international relations

As a first remark, it has to be stressed that these new developments lead to a certain obsolescence of the very term "international relations", seeming more appropriate to speak "in the most general sense, of 'global interactions' as movements of information, money, physical objects, people, or other tangible or intangible items across state boundaries" (6). This definition in itself includes the major features common to the new approaches to international relations. First of all a change in perspective from the international relations seen as the simple sum of the foreign policies of the various nation-states to a perspective where "we are dealing with a much more complex configuration of human and other factors: i.e., with relationships which are not necessarily or exclusively purposive and which, as a result call for descriptions and explanations which essentially cover a different and much wider spectrum of phenomena on a higher level of analysis and abstraction"(7). This higher level of analysis has been explored by many authors who have built models of "world politics", "world society", or "global society" (8).

The second aspect highlighted in the above seen definition is that of paying attention to the "movement of tangible and intangible items across state boundaries", a perspective stressed by the authors of the s.c. "behavioralist revolution", that are characterized by a growing attention to the manifest behavior of the actors that enter in their models. This fact leads to an important enhancement in the studies of international relations, trying to give empirical foundation to the assertions contained or deducible from the models. This process has been a troublesome one, in the sense that the quantifying efforts lead many authors to build very accurate instruments to measure quite marginal aspects of international relations, thus losing the original purpose of developing a comprehensive vision of the ever more complex international interactions. The recognition of these

shortcomings lead to the "neo-behavioralist" approach, that tries to operate a synthesis between the quantitative efforts of the former behavioralists and the realist wisdom of the traditionalists. (9)

1.4. Typologies of actors in inter-/trans-national relations

It has been already underlined that an important result of the change of perspective in the theory of international relations has been the recognition of the admissibility of "new" actors as substantial participants in the web of world affairs.

The most important efforts developed by several authors to group them in possibly comprehensive typologies will be considered here, but first of all some general definitions will be given of what is considered as an actor in this new perspective. In the definition of R.W.Keohane and J.S.Nye "a significant actor is any somewhat autonomous individual or organization that controls substantial resources and participates in political relationships with actors across state lines. Such actor need not to be a state"(10)(our emphasis).

The stress here is not on the attribute of sovereignty (that is proper only of the nation-state), but on other attributes: autonomy, control of resources and transnational (across state lines) relationships.

While the control of substantial resources and the existence of relationships across state lines are not questionable, dealing with most of the transnational actors, the attribute of autonomy deserves a little discussion.

On the relevance of this attribute, to define an actor, we can see R.W.Mansbach et al.: "An actor in global politics should be defined neither by the ascriptive quality of sovereignty nor by the descriptive characteristic of territoriality; instead, it should

be defined by the behavioural attribute of autonomy. Autonomy refers to the ability of leaders of an organized unit to undertake behaviour that could not be predicted by reference to other actors or authorities" (11).

The problem is that of assessing whether actors other than nation-states exercise an influence in world politics, the degree of their autonomy, their patterns of behaviour and the impact they have in the international arena.

We maintain ~~infact~~ that in the real world, for reasons of interdependence of the system neither cases of perfect autonomy exist nor no autonomy. We can only speak of degrees of autonomy attributed to the various types of actors. Once this statement is accepted, a question may be raised on what are the determinants of the varying degree of autonomy enjoyed by the actors considered. While a part of the answer can be found by examining variables internal to the actor, such as: the mode of action, the internal structure, certain psychological attributes of the agents of the organizations considered, we can expect that most of the determinants of the behavior of the actors reside in the environment. The emphasis on the "environmental" variables is strictly related to the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the actors to the point that we could even "measure" it by means of the ratio of internal/external independent variables used in attempting to predict the behavior. In the case of transnational partners it can be anticipated that their autonomy is not expected to score very high. Notwithstanding, a certain degree of autonomy does exist, hence the admissibility to include also these "weak" partners in a comprehensive typology.

The first important model that tries to match the theory to the reality of the "global interactions" has been developed by Keohane and Nye. The two authors propose the "world politics paradigm". They start by adding the societal level to the classic model of interstate politics (fig.2).

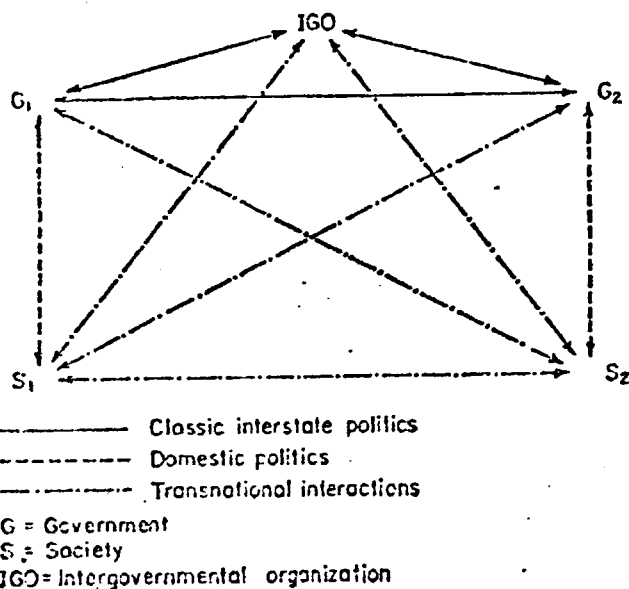


Fig. 2: Transnational interactions and interstate politics

Source: KEOHANE and NYE, Transnational relations in world politics, p.730.

They then further develop the model taking into account the fact that the actors are not always unitary, thus justifying the choice of a stratifying dimension: "this second dimension, centralization of control, involves the realization that subunits of governments may also have distinct foreign policies which are not all filtered through the top leadership and which do not fit into a unitary actor model" (11).

The resulting scheme is the one we can see in fig. 3 below, where the two authors identify also the type of interactions that take place between the various couples of actors.

Actor	A States as units	B Governmental subunits	C International organizations as units	D Subunits of international organizations	E Transnational organizations as units	F Subunits of transnational organizations; also certain individuals
A States as units	IS	TG	IS	TG	TN	TN
B Governmental subunits	TG	TG	TG	TG	TN	TN
C International organizations as units	IS	TG	IS	TG	TN	TN
D Subunits of international organizations	TG	TG	TG	TG	TN	TN
E Transnational organizations as units	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN
F Subunits of transnational organizations; also certain individuals	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN

IS = Interstate interactions

TG = Transgovernmental interactions

TN = Transnational interactions

TG + TN = Transnational relations

TG + TN + IS = World politics interactions

Fig. 3: Bilateral interactions in world politics

Source: KEOHANE and NYE, Transnational relations and world Politics, p.732.

This is a better approximation to a more comprehensive vision of the global interactions, and is a step beyond the vision of the "billiard ball model". Some actors are however left out of this model and only a later development of it by Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert (13) seems to have reached a more satisfying degree of accuracy. These authors break down the category of the transnational organizations into three separate actors labelled as: "governmental noncentral", "intrastate nongovernmental" and individuals, while neglecting the distinction in units/subunits.

	INTERSTATE GOVERNMENTAL	INTERSTATE NON- GOVERNMENTAL	NATION-STATE	GOVERNMENTAL NONCENTRAL	INTRASTATE NON- GOVERNMENTAL	INDIVIDUAL
INTERSTATE GOVERNMENTAL	UN-NATO (1950)	UN-International Red Cross (Palestine)	EEC-Franco- phone African states	OAU- Biafra	Arab League- Al Fatah	Grand Mufti of Jerusa'em- Arab League
INTERSTATE NONGOVERNMENTAL	UN-International Red Cross (Palestine)	Shell Oil- ESSO (1972)	USSR- Comintern (1920's)	IBM- Scotland	ITT-Allende opposition (Chile)	Sun-Yat sen- Comintern
NATION-STATE	EEC-Franco- phone African states	USSR- Comintern (1920's)	"traditional alliances" (NATO)	Belgium- Katanga (1960)	North Vietnam- Viet Cong	U. S. - James Donovan
GOVERNMENTAL NONCENTRAL	OAU- Biafra	IBM- Scotland	Belgium- Katanga (1950)	N. Y. Mayor- Moscow Mayor (1973)	Algerian rebels- French Socialists (1954)	South African mercenaries- Katanga
INTRASTATE NONGOVERNMENTAL	Arab League- Al Fatah	ITT-Allende Opposition (Chile)	North Vietnam- Viet Cong	Ulster- Protestant Vanguard (1970)	Communist Party USSR- Communist Party-German Democratic Republic	George Grivas- Greek Cyriots
INDIVIDUAL	Grand Mufti of Jerusa'em Arab League	Sun-Yat-sen- Comintern	U. S. - James Donovan	South African mercenaries- Katanga (1960)	George Grivas- Greek Cyriots	Louis of Conde- Gardard de Coligny (1552)

Fig. 4: Alignments in a complex conglomerate system.

Source: MANSBACH, FERGUSON and LAMPERT, The web of world politics,
p.42

A final development has been that of C.F. Alger (14), who divides the level below the nation state in Provincial and City, providing for all the levels (except the individual) the distinction between governmental and non-governmental (cfr. fig. 5).

 Nation-State Governmental

 Nation-State Nongovernmental

 Provincial Governmental

 Provincial Nongovernmental

 City Governmental

 City Nongovernmental

 Individual

Fig. 5 - Extension of the Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert Paradigm.

Source: C.F.ALGER, The impact of cities on international systems, p.

It can be added that Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert propose a further classification of the actors according to their principal task or the issue area where their activity is concentrated (cfr. fig.6).

	PHYSICAL PROTECTION	ECONOMIC	PUBLIC INTEREST	GROUP STATUS
INTERSTATE GOVERNMENTAL	NATO	GATT	WHO	British Commonwealth
INTERSTATE NONGOVERNMENTAL	Al Fatah	Royal Dutch Petroleum	International Red Cross	Comintern
NATION-STATE	Turkish Cypriot Government Officials	U. S. Dept. of Commerce	HEW	Biafra
GOVERNMENTAL NONCENTRAL	Confederacy	Katanga	New York City	Quebec
INTRASTATE NONGOVERNMENTAL	Jewish Defense League	CARE	Ford Foundation	Ibo tribe
INDIVIDUAL	Gustav von Rosen	Jean Monnet	Andrew Carnegie	Dalai Lama

Fig. 6 - Actors defined by membership and principal task

(Source: MANSBACH, FERGUSON and LAMPERT, The web of world politics, p.42)

From this brief review it can be clearly understood that the effort to accurately classify the actors might become a quite complex one, due to the fact that the criteria (variables) considered crucial by the authors are not consistent and sometimes not exhaustive in the formulation of the items of the variables. The most important trouble derives from the fact that the authors propose classifications that are constructed by collapsing together more variables in a composite typology without explicitly defining the variables involved.

To make an example: Keohane and Nye classify the actors in governmental, intergovernmental, non-governmental. (15). They do not seem aware or, at least, do not say explicitly that their classification derives from the use of two dichotomous variables that define the governmental/non-governmental and the internal/international dimensions. The crosstabulation of two dichotomous variables produces four cells, but in the classification of Keohane and Nye only three of them appear. The missing cell refers to the international non-governmental actors: quite an important omission if we think of such organizations as the Red Cross International, the World Council of Churches or the Multinational Corporations. The omission has been revealed by C.F. Alger (16), who fills the gap and goes further, through the work of Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert, expanding the model to include the five levels (inter-state, nation-state, provincial, city and individual) that we have already seen.

Can we say that the process of refinement of the model has reached a satisfactory degree of accuracy and evidence? It could be stated that the process of continuous adding up to fill the gaps found, when confronting the models with reality, has brought a certain degree of fuzziness and arbitrariness in the classification.

Instead of trying to make an extra effort to improve the proposed models, it seems more advisable to reconsider what are the most crucial variables and, on the basis of them, to propose a classification.

The first aspect to take into consideration is that when we speak of actors in inter-/trans-national interactions most of the time we are confronted with abstract entities (governments, nations) or physical objects (cities) that cannot act. These interactions are in fact carried out by individuals who hold a role in the organizations and represent them. Individuals instead can act either being part of non formalized groups or as single individuals that can have transnational contacts. Thus it can be proposed that the first classification of actors will be based on the dichotomy, individual/s - organization/s, whereas the second item comprises all the instances where the individuals who act internationally represent not (only) themselves, but a social group, however formalized.

The second fundamental dichotomy proposed is the external (international)/(national)/internal one. It might seem contradictory with what has been said up to this point, in particular the stress on the need to break the billiard ball model, to indicate as fundamental the border that divides the organizations that are inside from those that are outside the nation-states. It must be reminded anyhow that whatever new important actors we will find, their actions will become relevant only if and when they interact across nation-state borders, whatever our definition of these interactions: international, transnational, transgovernmental, transfrontier, etc.

Thirdly it can be proposed to use in the classification of the actors the above seen governmental/non-governmental dichotomy. This subdivision has to be considered very important since it legitimizes all non-governmental organizations to be considered as significant actors in the international interplay.

The resulting scheme shown in figure 7 below is what could be considered a defensible "hard core" of a classification of actors in global interactions: the last two dichotomies not being, of course, applicable to the individual level.

ORGANIZATIONS	INTERNA- TIONAL	O.N.U. N.A.T.O. O.S.A. O.P.E.C.	Red Cross International World Council of Churches I.B.M. Corporation I.P.S.A.
	NATIONAL	U.S.A. Italy Malta Vatican City	Columbia University Solidarnós Harlem Globetrotters "Chino Ermacora" Folklore Group
INDIVIDUALS	The Friulian earthquaked populations		

Fig. 7 - A basic typology of inter-/trans-national actors

The proposed classification is not meant to diminish the descriptive and heuristic merits of all the further proposed subdivisions; it is only stated that these are the minimal necessary and sufficient categories that can be employed.

Also with this elementary and seemingly clear cut typology, problems might arise when trying to classify as non-governmental certain organizations, internal to the Eastern popular democracies, where the state is heavily present also in voluntary organizations. Secondly, troubles might arise when dealing with the international organizations. When interactions occur inside the international organizations we can classify them as internal to the organizational bureaucracy; this way they are out of our concern. When these international organizations interact with nation-states or with actors internal to them, these interactions become relevant and also the requisite of crossing a nation-state border is respected. However what should be done when interactions occur between or among organizations of international level (e.g.: NATO-ONU relations)? Should we introduce, following C.F. Alger, an abstract

border between the international and a new inter-international level? (17) Once the possibility of having these "second level international interactions" is accepted, we must be aware that there are ever growing chances for the birth of "second level international organizations". Several such organizations already exist, C.F. Alger lists, for example, the Advisory Committee on Coordination (ACC) set up to coordinate the activities of a number of United Nations agencies, or the International Council of Scientific Unions, which is an agency comprised of representatives of 18 scientific unions (18).

Referring to the sub-classifications of the actors that were left out of the proposed typology, we can try to assess their relevance together with their deficiencies.

Let us firstly consider the internal organizations (actors). Here again the most promising subdivision is another dichotomy: central/non-central or national/sub-national reach of the organization. This subdivision has not been introduced in the proposed "hard-core" classification since it seems hardly applicable to the internal non-governmental organizations. For some of these organizations there are no problems in stating their national reach (e.g. national political parties, Trade Unions, Chambers of Commerce). For other organizations the task to delimitate their reach is much more difficult. The example can be made of the local parties: they can have their political membership and/or audience in several cities or provinces, which can be part of a region or of a group of adjacent regions. Another example can be the case of the commercial or industrial firms, which have a sub-national, but not easily delimitable market. Finally the example can be made of a University: it is often labelled by the city where it is located (e.g.: University of Bologna), their students and professors are recruited on a regional or pluri-regional base and its cultural and scientific influence may reach the national and sometimes international environment (e.g. MIT).

The case of the governmental internal actors seems to be much more manageable: the introduction of the governmental non-central category does not create problems, but only if we do not attempt to go further. The above seen subdivision (in Provincial and City) proposed by Alger, is in fact quite useful for the particular type of analysis of this Author, who stresses the impact and role of cities in the international environment (19), and it will be employed also in the present research. It creates instead many problems if we want to propose a typology where the categories have to be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. Firstly, because there are other administrative subdivisions than the two proposed: in the Italian case the Provinces together with the Regions, and in the case of the U.S.A., the Counties, if Provincial is referred to the States. Secondly, we would not know how to classify certain "second order" territorial entities composed of several Communes (e.g. the Council of Greater London or the "Comunità Montane").

Similar problems are encountered when accepting the other subdivisions or specifications proposed. As the classification according to the task of the organization ^{refers} (20), it can be said, first of all, that the list of issue areas proposed is not at all exhaustive. Secondly, many actors could be classified in more than one category, thus raising a problem of non mutual exclusiveness of the categories employed. It could be bypassed by trying to classify the actor following its prevalent or major task, but this is not always feasible, especially for those organizations that are institutionally "all-purpose" (21). These shortcomings might suggest not introducing the sectorial classification in the model. Rather it could be taken into consideration when looking at the actual behavior of the actor, thus classifying the single event-interaction following the prevalent sector of activity involved.

The subdivision of the actors in units and subunits proposed by Keohane and Nye should be considered not satisfying either, since it appears more useful to adopt an alternative strategy, proposed elsewhere (22), which considers the actor always as an unitary one while entering in the model another variable which specifies what is the organ of the actor that took part in the interaction. Moreover, Keohane and Nye propose this subdivision to take account of the functional articulation of the governmental bureaucracies. If this is considered acceptable, it may be noted that there is also often present a territorial articulation of the governmental bodies. These last administrative units are also actors, who fall under the category "governments as subunits" and as such they should be included in the model, thus rendering it even more complicated.

1.5. Inter-/trans-national organizations vs. inter-/trans-national interactions

The adjectives: international, transnational and several others are used in turn to qualify actors and/or types of interaction. Problems may arise in employing these terms if certain distinctions are not clearly singled out. It can be proposed in fact that, while the actors that are placed at the level of the nation-state or below it (those in the "internal" cells) can never be qualified as international or transnational actors, but they can be possibly involved in international or transnational interactions. The actors that are placed at the "international" level are, by definition, international (or transnational) actors, but not always, not necessarily involved in inter-/trans-national interactions. To put it more clearly, it can be said, for example, that the transnational organizations (e.g. Red Cross International) are not always engaged in transnational interactions (e.g. when contacts are carried out among individuals of different nations, who are members of the organization), and the transnational interactions (e.g. town-twinning) are not always

carried out by transnational organizations (in the proposed example the City Councils). All what has been said follows from the fact that what happens inside one single actor is not considered here as an inter-/trans-national interaction. The interactions become relevant to our studies only if and when they occur between or among two or more such actors, and the above seen clause, of the tangible ^{or intangible} items that cross a (in certain instances imaginary) border, has to be respected (23).

Leaving aside for the moment the problem of clearly defining and labelling the interactions that might occur between the actors of the above proposed typology, some more words are to be spent in trying to define better the actors that have been placed at the international level and that have been tentatively labelled as either governmental or non-governmental international organizations. The international governmental organizations can be easily identified, also following the classical paradigm, being formed exclusively by an association of nations or governmental bureaucracies, and there is a wide accord in calling them international organizations without any qualifications. The international non-governmental organizations are instead quite often called transnational organizations. The difference between the two has been quite clearly traced by S.P. Huntington: "An international organization requires the identification and creation of a common interest among national groups. This common interest may be easy to identify, such as the exchange of mail. Or it may be the product of extensive time-consuming negotiation among national units. A transnational organization, on the other hand, has its own interest which inheres in the organization and its functions, which may or may not be closely related to the interest of national groups. Nations participate in international organizations; transnational organizations operate within nations. International organizations are designed to facilitate the achievement of a common interest among many national units. Transnational organizations are designed to

facilitate the pursuit of a single interest within many national units. The international organization requires accord among nations; the transnational organization requires access to nations (24).

While the difference between international and transnational organizations seem to be clearly defined, there is no agreement among the authors on the acceptance of the transnational label for all the international non-governmental organizations. This term, in fact, is often substituted or placed side by side with others, which are alternatively used according to certain features of the organizations considered. Making the example of the most widely studied and relevant international non-governmental actors: the Multinational Corporation, we can see from the following table provided by the French scholar M. Merle, that the list of adjectives employed is quite long (25).

BYÉ	Ensemble organisé de moyens soumis à un centre de décision unique capable d'autonomie à l'égard du marché et dont les établissements productifs sont situés sur plusieurs territoires nationaux.	Entreprise multinationale	Entreprise dans laquelle, qu'il s'agisse de sa nature ou de sa politique, les opérations à l'étranger sont à égalité avec les opérations nationales, et la direction est prête à répartir les ressources de la société sans souci de frontières nationales pour atteindre les objectifs. Les décisions restent sous l'influence nationale car la propriété et les décisions centrales demeurent unilatérales.
KINDLEBERGER	Primauté des méthodes utilisées dans le pays du siège et des lois de ce pays.	Entreprise transnationale	Société multinationale gérée et possédée par des personnes d'origines nationales différentes. En fait, les décisions échappent à l'optique nationale.
Entreprise multinationale	Entreprise authentiquement sensible aux traditions locales et respectant les souverainetés et les politiques locales.	Entreprise supranationale	Entreprise transnationale juridiquement définie par le fait qu'il lui est permis de se faire enregistrer exclusivement auprès d'un organisme national créé par une convention internationale la contrôlant et auquel elle paie des impôts.
Société internationale	Société pratiquant des opérations si fluides que, pratiquement, elles ne sont plus à la portée des politiques nationales d'aucun pays, ce qui la laisse libre, dans une certaine mesure, de prendre des décisions dans l'intérêt de la seule efficacité de la société.	S. E. ROLFE	Société ayant des unités de production dans plusieurs pays et dont 25% des actifs de la société (à défaut 25% de son chiffre d'affaires, de sa production ou de ses résultats) sont à l'étranger.
A. MICHALET	Entreprise effectuant, sous une forme ou sous une autre en fonction de sa spécialisation, des investissements directs dans plus d'un pays et concevant ses opérations dans le présent et l'avenir, au niveau de la gestion courante ou à celui de la stratégie à long terme, dans une perspective internationale.	Société internationale	
Entreprises plurinationales			
PERLUTTER	Orientée vers le pays d'origine.		
Entreprise à attitude ethnocentrique			
Entreprise à attitude polycentrique	Orientée vers le pays d'accueil.		
Entreprise à attitude géocentrique	A orientation mondiale.		
ROBINSON	Entreprise dans laquelle les opérations internationales sont consolidées dans un bureau faisant partie de la hiérarchie au niveau de la division et qui, en matière de politique, est disposée à envisager toutes les stratégies possibles en vue de la pénétration des marchés internationaux — jusqu'à l'investissement direct.		
Entreprise internationale			

(1) M. BYÉ, « Relations économiques internationales », *Préface*, Paris, 1965; C. P. KINDLEBERGER, *Les investissements des Etats-Unis dans le monde*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1971; C. A. MICHALET, *L'entreprise internationale*, Dunod, Paris, 1970; H. PERLUTTER, « L'entreprise internationale: trois conceptions », *Revue économique et sociale*, Lausanne, 1965; J. ROBINSON, *International Business Policy*, Holt Rinehart Winston, New York, 1964; S. E. ROLFE, *La société internationale*, Chambre internationale du commerce, Paris, 1969.

Source : DATAR, « Les firmes multinationales », *Tendances et recherches prospectives*, n° 31, La Documentation française, 1973, p. 63-64.

Tab. 1 - Different definitions of multinational corporations

Source: M. MERLE, *Sociologie des relations internationales*, pp. 326-327.

It could be stated, following S.P.Huntington that "there is no point in debating definitions. But there is a need to insure that definitions clarify rather than obscure distinctions" (26). Hence it could be favoured that attempts are undertaken by the scholars to put more order in the matter. For the scope of the present research, which will be centered on the analysis of trans-national interactions between actors who, for the greatest part, pertain to the nation-state level or below it, the above-seen distinction of the international level in governmental and non-governmental, seems to be sufficiently sharp and clear.

1.6. Defining the interactions

Having first identified the actors, the following step is to define the interactions that occur between them. When the nation-states and the international organizations were the only recognized relevant actors, the problem was solved by labelling all the interactions between these subjects as international (27). Not without certain cautions in accepting this term. P.A.Reynolds points at the presence of three options in labelling these interactions: they could be called inter-state, inter-governmental or inter-national. This alternative follows from his differentiation of the actors: "states are actors in the formal diplomatic and legal network of relationships. Governments are actors in that they make the decisions and formulate the policies by which the states' roles in the formal network are determined. Nations are actors, though they usually lack formal structures, in the sense that their aspirations and their antipathies effect the behaviour of governments, and that relationships among their members may cross state frontiers" (28). After examining the advantages and short-comings of the three alternatives, the Author affirms that "the least unsatisfactory solution seems to be to retain the customary 'international relations' as the name of this segment of knowledge with which we are concerned" (29).

Other reasons for accepting this solution come from the consideration that the differentiation between states and governments is one that has relevance from a legal, diplomatic point of view, but it loses its importance in a political science perspective. As refers to the nation and the sub-national actors we are here less interested in the role they have in determining or influencing the governmental policies, ^{are} and much more inclined to consider these subjects as actors "per se". We need to employ a different label to describe their interactions, the international one being already occupied in defining the relations that occur among the actors in the classical "billiard ball" model. This "newly" coined term is "transnational interactions". In the definition of Keohane and Nye: "we speak of transnational communication, transportation, finance and travel when we refer to nongovernmental or only partially governmental interactions across state boundaries. Thus, 'transnational interactions' is our term to describe the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an intergovernmental organization" (30).

It must also be added that Nye makes use also of the term "transgovernmental" interactions employed by Reynolds with a different meaning: his definition being that "these are interactions among subunits of different governments that are not closely controlled or guided by policies of cabinets of chief executives of the governments" (31). It is not the point here to discuss deeply this further differentiation because in the "hard core" classification of the actors seen above the nation-state governmental actors have been treated as unitary ones. It can only be said that the acceptance of the admissibility of "transgovernmental interactions", as separate from the broader "international interactions", follows from the acceptance of the possibility of a "loose control" or of an "autonomy" of the single departments of a central government. While the author affirms that it can be demonstrated empirically that this is the case in several instances, we maintain anyhow that the "transgovernmental" category has to be considered ^{as} a sub-species of the "international" one,

that is not fundamental, but introduced and descriptively useful only for the particular scope of the analysis carried out by the Author. It can be considered on the same level of differentiation that is operated in the present work between transnational and transfrontier interactions, the second being a sub-species of the former, which has been introduced for descriptive analytical reasons to differentiate those transnational interactions that occur between actors residing on the two sides of a border.

The scheme presented below shows how the relations that occur between all the previously identified actors should be defined. It is based on the scheme by Keohane and Nye presented above (32), which was modified to introduce the international non-governmental actors. The actors are considered unitary for the above-mentioned reasons and also because the differentiation in units/sub-units is not easily applicable to all the actors involved. In the scope of the present analysis the individuals not formally organized can be grouped together with the internal non-governmental actors.

		GOVERNMENTAL		NON-GOVERNMENTAL	
		Internal	International	Internal	International
NON-GOVERNMENTAL	Internal	IN	IN	TN	TN
	International	IN	IN ²	TN	TN ²
GOVERNMENTAL	Internal	TN	TN	TN	TN
	International	TN	TN ²	TN	TN ²

da: IN = International Interactions ; TN = Transnational Interactions;
 IN² = "Second level" International Interactions ; TN² = "Second level"
 Transnational Interactions.

Fig. 8 - Bilateral interactions

With a close inspection of the scheme it can be noted, first of all, that the interactions that fall in the four cells of the upper left corner and in the four cells of the lower right corner, occur between actors, both governmental and non-governmental. Thus these interactions can be easily classified alternatively, according to the above accepted definitions, as international or transnational. A problem of classification arises when considering the other two corners, because in these cases the two actors involved are not homogeneous. The solution proposed by Keohane and Nye is that the "lower", non-governmental, actor defines the type of these mixed interactions. They are all classified under the transnational label since "at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an inter-governmental organization" (33). An exponent has been put in those cells that indicate interactions that occur between actors who are both at the international (governmental and/or non-governmental) level. These interactions might be called, for example, second level international interactions or, following C.F. Alger, super-international interactions (34).

It can be further observed that the cells that are placed in the descending left to right diagonal of the scheme indicate interactions that occur between actors who are homogeneous according to both the two criterion variables (dichotomies) adopted. The two, lower left and upper right, triangles are specular and hence one of the two is redundant. This can also clearly be seen in the figure that shows the alignments in a complex conglomerate system by Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert (35). The redundancy might be eliminated in the case of bilateral interactions adopting the rule that the actors defined in the column variable are those who originated and/or hosted the event-interaction considered. In this way the quantity of information that can be input in the matrix would be enhanced.

A final problem arises from the fact that the proposed scheme seems more apt to manage interactions of the bilateral (two actors involved) type. The rule that the lower level (non-governmental) relevant actor participating in the interaction^{in fact} defines it, could anyhow be applied also in defining the multilateral interactions.

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35. Cfr. fig. 4 above.

CHAPTER II

THE PARTITION OF THE FIELD

2. The partition of the field

In the preceeding paragraphs, the most fundamental changes in the international interplay, have been discussed, that lead to a change in the same paradigms that guide the research in the field of international relations. We have seen that these changes occurred at the level of the actors and at the level of the interactions among them.

These elements concur to form what has been defined^{as} the international system. According to an accepted definition, a system is, in fact, "a set of objects together with relationships between these objects and between their attributes" (1). This definition, applied to the international system, has been transformed in the following, proposed by M.Merle: "Je propose d'appeler système international l'ensemble des relations entre les principaux acteurs que sont les Etats, les Organisations internationales et les forces transnationales. En conséquence, l'environnement sera constitué par l'ensemble des facteurs (naturel, économique, technologique, démographique, idéologique) dont la combinaison influe sur la structure et sur le fonctionnement du système" (2).

This definition introduces in the model another complication because of the presence (questioned by some authors) of an environment(3). But this is a needed complication, if we agree that: "whenever the system thinker is asked to explain the behavior of a particular 'unit', an organism, the delinquent child, a social class, or the state, the explanation is always formulated at a higher level of analysis. The particular 'unit' is placed in the context of a broader system. It is assumed that the behavior of the 'unit' is conditioned by the nature of the system" (4).

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The recognition of all these interplaying aspects might end up in a quite paradoxical situation, thus depicted by P.A.Reynolds: "by some not absurd definition of international relations the whole of human behavior would fall within its field; and since human behavior is affected by the physical, chemical and biological conditions of its environment, an attempt to fully explain, and not simply to describe, international relations so defined would have to range over the totality of human knowledge" (5).

Since we are not "wholology" specialists there is a need to break up the field in an attempt to individuate a research strategy capable to catch some viable "autonomous" aspects amenable to a distinctive treatment, avoiding the traps of the quantification without substance and of the substantial argument treated in vague terms. The process of partition and of individuation of the subfield can be carried out from two points of view: firstly, by delimiting the levels of analysis, secondly, by delimiting functionally and geographically the matter.

The distinction between "structural level" and "process level" in analysing international interactions has been introduced by Bergsten, Keohane and Nye (6) and later developed by Scott in his "Logic of International Interaction". In particular these authors maintain that "structures have to do with organizations, arrangements, and rules and set the parameters for day-to-day interaction processes" (7).

As in any social process, also in international interactions there is not a "one-way" linear direction of cause-effect, so that "the behavior operates within the constraints imposed by structural arrangements, but it is not wholly controlled by them. Feedback mechanisms allow for a reciprocal influence of interaction behavior

on structural arrangements" (8). If we also add to the scheme a sectorial subdivision of the behavior (cfr. Fig. 9) we have a complete map of the reciprocal influences, since, in the real world, we can single out a "lateral interaction and influence at both levels" (9) that results in an impact of sets of structural arrangements on one another and the direct impact of interaction processes on one another.

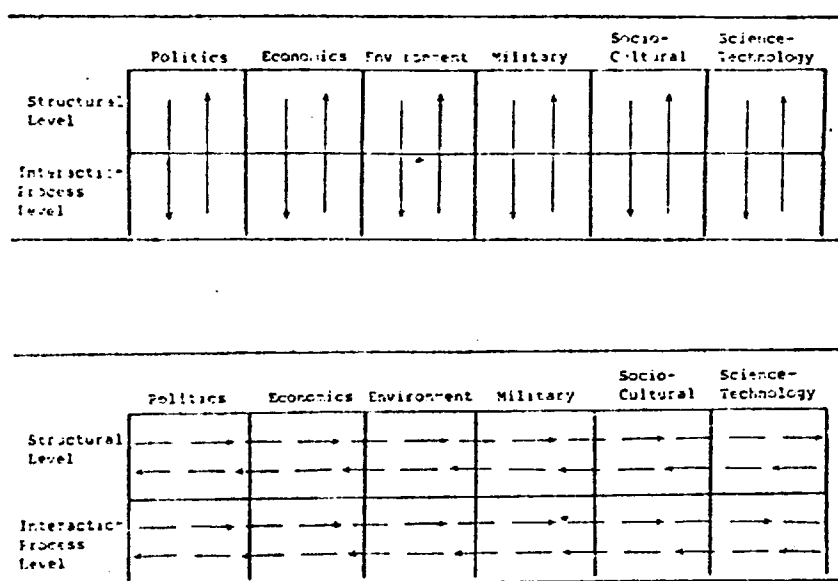


Fig.9 : Types of interaction and interdependence

Source: A.W.SCOTT, The logic of international interaction, in "International Studies Quarterly", 21, 3, 1977, pp.433-434.

The interaction process level can be assimilated to what is also called transnational interactions (the transnational interactions rather than the international ones being the center of analysis in the present work). In the words of the previously cited J.S.Nye "We speak of transnational communication, transportation, finance and

travel when we refer to nongovernmental or only partially governmental interactions across state boundaries. Thus, transnational interactions is our term to describe the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a governmental or an intergovernmental organization" (10).

The distinction, on the other side, between the two components of the transnational relations, is quite clearly traced by McClelland and Hoggard who define the event-interactions as: "single action events of nonroutine, extraordinary or news-worthy character that in some clear sense are directed across national boundaries and have in most instances a specific foreign target" (11).

They distinguish the event-interactions from the transactions, these last ones being, in their definition: "items of action that have at some point become so numerous, so commonplace, so normal to their situation that they are accounted for conventionally in an aggregate form" (12).

Passing to the structural level, we have essentially two sets of phenomena to look at, as we have already seen: the "organizations" and the "arrangements and rules".

The organizations are what have been called here the actors, whose definition and typology have been treated above.

We can thus move to the other pole of the structural level, that of the arrangements and rules. By structural arrangements and rules are meant here all those determinants or "shapers" of the behavior of the actors that can reside either in the natural, or cultural (in the broadest sense) environment of the actors.

In this way we can look, not only at the present legal structures on the international scene, but also at the historical background, the geographical situation and some social and economic facts that seem to be relevant.

All these structural variables can influence the actors, and through them, the interaction process level, essentially in two ways:

- a) the structural arrangements may create new actors who produce (new) events - this is the case, for example, of the creation of the EEC (1958) or of the Autonomous Region Friuli-Venezia Giulia (1964).
- b) the structural arrangements may influence the behavior of pre-existing actors (the contents, the intensity and direction of their actions).

For example: the Osimo agreements give new powers, on certain matters, to already existing organizations such as the Local Chambers of Commerce or the Regional administration.

One final word has to be said about the structural arrangements. If we define them as that particular class of events which has the property to originate a series of other events (es. a trade agreement and the following economic transactions) we have problems due to the fact that we have already found the events as being part of the phenomena classified under the interaction process level. We need a criterion to distinguish among them.

It is again a problem of levels of analysis, in the sense that the distinction between the structural and the process level cannot be traced once and for all. We might consider as structural what, from another point of view, can easily be classified as process.

Let us make an example: two states reach an economic agreement, this leads to meetings of Chambers of Commerce of the two countries which in turn originate contacts between single businessmen of the two countries. The meetings of the Chambers of Commerce can be seen as structural processes from a local/regional point of view (they satisfy our definition being originators of other events - the economic transactions), but they are certainly to be put in the process level when considered from the point of view of the foreign policies of the states.

All the discussion up to this point can be summarized in a scheme that shows the mutual interactions between the elements of the transnational relations that we have individuated (cfr. fig.10).

that we use to explain another set of variables placed in another level of the scheme (13).

The structural arrangements for example can be considered as independent variables of the system and, as such, useful to explain the behavior of the actors and/or the amount and directions of the interaction process.

A choice can also be made between the actors (organizations) or the event interactions/transactions as units of analysis. The first strategy has been, for example, selected for the project directed by C.F. Alger: "Columbus in the World, The World in Columbus". Questionnaires were sent to various organizations involved in transnational activities to ascertain their degree of involvement in transnational interactions and their internal organization developed to cope with the transnational roles that they have assumed (14).

Other units of analysis have been used instead in international relations, for example, in studying the vote behavior of states in the international governmental organizations (15) and several data banks have been set up by analysing the contents of various documentary sources, archives, and collections of newspapers (16).

As the functional criteria employed in delimiting the field of research refers, one can be reminded that the cited Lampert, Falkowski and Mansbach in their "Is There an International System?" argue that ^{there} does not exist a single international system, speaking of a "many systems world politics". One reason that contemporary world politics is so complex is that many systems are linked either because of overlap among participant actors (and therefore behavior) or because of the interdependence of the issues upon which they focus" (17).

Hence the existence in^{the} literature of studies, especially those empirically based^{which} abandon the ambition of giving account of the whole international system and choose to study the interactions that occur around a single issue area (18).

The delimitation of the field according to political-geographical criteria has an equally successful tradition in international relations, starting from the studies on the European process of integration, to the studies of the relations among the nations that adhere to NATO, to the more recent huge amount of studies that examine all the complex international interplay within the Middle East area.

The methodology of the research that can be employed and also the disciplines, bordering on international relations, that can help with their conceptual framework, vary according to the chosen focus of the research. When dealing with structural variables, history, geography, diplomatic history, international law and possibly all the array of physical and social sciences, as above underlined, can provide their^{own} contribution. The conceptual apparatus of political science, organizational sociology and also social psychology will be useful in studying the organizations. Also the use of instruments such as the questionnaire or the personal interviews together with the study of documentary sources could be adopted in this case. The flows of event-interactions and of transactions can be studied instead by analysing the contents of newspaper collections and archives, in the case of the former, and statistical bulletins in the case of the transactions. All the data generatedⁱⁿ this way can be easily computer analysed. Sociology of international relations and economics will give a substantial support in interpreting the data thus generated.

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CHAPTER III

THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH AND RELATED ISSUES

3. The scope of the research and related issues

3.1. Delimitating the field of the research

In the first chapter we have examined the theoretical framework where the present research can be situated. The second chapter was devoted to the discussion of how the field of international relations may be subdivided in an attempt to find viable strategies open to the researcher. The specific object of the present research will be described here together with an outline of the rest of the work.

The choice has been to study the transnational relations of the Autonomous Region Friuli-Venetia Julia (1). The choice of a region derives from two basic reasons: a recognition of the growing importance of the regions, especially in the process of European integration and in the transfrontier cooperation, as it will be more deeply examined here below (2), and an ideological commitment in studying and stressing the role of the actors other than the nation-state, with their desirable, and possibly real, potential of peace and understanding among peoples pertaining sometimes to different cultures and political systems. The region Friuli-Venetia Julia is particularly important from this point of view because it is a border region. It is placed at the borders of Italy and also of the EEC and, moreover, the neighbouring regions pertain to nation-states that are governed by different political regimes and belong to the two other cultural families present in Europe: the German and the Slavic; F-VJ belonging, in its greatest part, to the Latin one.

The choice to stress, in the same title, that the object of study is the transnational relations derives from the fact that, as it has been said above, the subdivision between international and transnational relations depends on the nature of the actors

and, as it can be expected within a region, in particular a region that is non-central in respect of the nation-state, there will be an overwhelming presence of actors, who belong to the sub-national or non-governmental level. This is not true in absolute terms, inasmuch^{as} the state is present through its peripheral organs and the foreign states might be present through their diplomatic representatives.

. It has been decided to take into consideration all the event-interactions in which at least one actor pertains geographically to Friuli-Venetia Julia. The interactions can occur with every other actor in the world. The^{economic} transactions have been left out of the analysis essentially for one reason: that all the statistics available on import-export of goods and energy, international communication, and movement of tourists are compiled on a national basis and it is not easy, if not impossible, to distinguish, for example, among the goods entering in the port of Trieste, those destined to the Friulian market from those destined for the rest of Italy.

A special attention has been devoted to the structural variables that are relevant in explaining the amounts and directions of the transnational relations of F-VJ. The following sections of the present chapter will be devoted to these matters.

The fourth methodological chapter introduces the source of data that has been used in analysing these transnational interactions: the TRENDS data bank.

The chapter on the analysis of the research findings will be concluded by a section where an attempt is made to relate statistically the levels of interaction found through the data bank to the structural variables in order to find which of the latter are the (best) predictors of the cooperative transnational behaviour.

3.2. Transfrontier cooperation in Europe and in the Alpe-Adria

3.2.1. Introduction

The subject of regions and regionalization has been quite a debated one during the last years, especially in connection with the movement aiming ^{towards} the decentralization of the administrative apparatus in certain states. In the Italian case, such movement ended with the creation of the regional administrative and legislative bodies in 1972. The regions have enjoyed a particular attention in the political sphere also at a European level, because of the growing concern of the necessity to go towards a "Europe of the regions" in an attempt to enhance European integration (3). The debate on the policy of the European institutions towards the levelling of the regional disequilibria has also been growing during the last years (4).

The reasons for the growing importance of the regions as actors in the continental politics of the post-war period have been outlined by R. Strassoldo who lists:

- distrust in Nation-States, at least in Europe, where their rivalries have resulted in catastrophies and the eclipse of Europe in the world power arena;
- awareness that medium-size countries are both too small to claim real sovereignty and too big to satisfy the growing needs of their citizens for participation;
- growing concern for democratic participation of citizens in public affairs;
- increased income, increased culture, increased mobility and increased leisure make such participation possible and desired;
- the new technology of transport and communication makes possible both centralisation and decentralisation of decision-making and all the related activities;

- the cosmopolitanism of mass culture, fostered by the mass media of communication and easy mobility, has emphasized the importance of local peculiarities and enracinement;
- the satisfaction of more basic needs has awakened long repressed cultural aspirations, such as recognition of linguistic freedom;
- the increasing intervention of the State in economic and social affairs, with the unavoidable "territorialisation" of that intervention and, therefore, the launching of "regional policies" (5)."

The same attention has not been devoted to the subject of transfrontier regions, in spite of their crucial importance in respect of some fundamental aspects of the international political life in Europe today : the international cooperation, the integrative effort , the politics of détente. The only known attempts to study the matter have been the organization of a number of conferences (and the publication of the related papers) by: the Regio Basisliensis in 1965, the European Center of Culture in 1965, 1969 and 1975, the Council of Europe in 1972 and 1973, the Association of the Institutes of European Studies in 1975 and the Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia in 1972 and 1979 (6).

While the amount of work devoted to these themes has not been very large, at least some of these contributions reach the goal of systematizing the matter and showing the most promising directions for future work. In the following pages we will try to give a summary of this effort starting with the problems of definition there implied.

3.2.2. The transfrontier region: actors and relations

A preliminary terminological problem arises from the fact that, unfortunately, a single term: "region" is used to indicate a constituent part of the nation-state (the infra- or sub-national

region) and, alternatively, supra-national entities of continental dimension (7). The situation is complicated by the fact that the same term is used to label the emergent transfrontier regions, regions constituted by the sub-national regions cooperating across the borders. Hence the term "region" always needs to be qualified to avoid misunderstandings.

The transfrontier region, which is the center of our analysis, can be defined, together with C.Ricq, by looking at its spatial/relational aspect given that:

"Les régions transfrontalières n'existent pas dans l'abstrait; elles s'appuient sur un substrat territorial (...) Mieux vaut de suite définir le champ spatial des régions transfrontalières comme un champ de densité de relations, un champ de forces même, champ qui revêt des dimensions variables selon les systèmes auxquels on se réfère, champ culturel, champ social, champ éducationnel, champ économique, etc." (8).

The mentioned field of relations has actually a variable dimension, depending not only on the subject matters of the trans-frontier cooperation that the Author lists, but also on the actors who engage in this relational activity. Much experience of cooperation and exchange occurs between actors residing on the two sides of a frontier and pertaining to a functional level "lower" than the regional one (towns, little communities) or belonging to the "private" sphere such as the Chambers of Commerce or cultural organizations. Our analysis here will be devoted, notwithstanding, to the experiences of cooperation between the most prominent actors: the sub-national regional authorities.

Thus the pre-eminent actors directly or indirectly involved in the transfrontier interactive situation are: a) the trans-frontier region in its institutional aspect (e.g.: Alpe Adria)

- b) the sub-national frontier regions (e.g. Friuli Venetia Julia),
- c) the nation-states (e.g. Italy), d) the sopra-national (continental) region (e.g. Europe).

A pattern of relations among these actors can be singled out, which will be useful to frame the discussion. It can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The interactions among (some) frontier sub-national regions define what has been here called the transfrontier region.
- 2) The type and scope of this transfrontier activity is affected by the nature of the sub-national regions that carry it out, their nature being the consequence of the type of center-periphery relations existing inside the nation-states involved.
- 3) Even the nature of the relations that occur between/among the nation-states to which the sub-national transfrontier partners pertain, contribute to define and even make possible the transfrontier activities.
- 4) Looking upwards, in a systemic perspective, it can be observed that relations do exist also between the transfrontier and the supra-systemic region (the EEC and the Council of Europe)
- 5) Official relations between the frontier regions and the national governments are not known, if they ever exist. This is probably the lacking link in the chain of relations among the abovementioned actors.

3.2.3. The sub-national region: regionalism, regionalization and center-periphery relations

Leaving aside, for the moment, the discussion on the dynamics internal to the transfrontier regions, we can start by analysing more closely the sub-national region, since the typologies and definitions of the two have been developed side by side.

We have pointed out, at the beginning of this chapter, that the emergence and the growing role of the sub-national regions on the political/constitutional scene is due to a set of phenomena that have been developing during the last years. They can be possibly combined, as it has been done by C.Ricq, into two fundamental political movements that have been labelled as regionalism and regionalization. The first is a request that comes from the base, while regionalization is an answer that comes from the ~~top~~ to cope with the demand of regionalism. They have been ^{depicted} in this way by C.Ricq:

"disons que si la régionalisation a, en règle générale, le notable souci de parvenir, pour un pays ou pour l'Europe, à un meilleur équilibre dans la répartition des richesses en tenant d'atténuer les zones de sous-développement, par contre, le régionalisme a, pour règle d'or, l'accession au pouvoir de décision, que ce pouvoir soit politique, administratif, cultural, ou même universitaire... (9.).

It is a problem, as can be seen, of center-periphery relations, the problem of how the center either manages or controls the periphery. The autonomy, or the possibility to have transfrontier partnerships, depends strongly on how this dialectic confrontation is solved. D.Lerner lists: 1) disinterest 2) promotion of the functional differences and 3) reduction of the dissidence, among the ways adopted by the center to cope with the problem (10). In any of these alternative strategies the periphery may find its way to transfrontier cooperation, although with ^a different outcome.

The problem can also be examined by looking at how the nation-state has subdivided its territory into sub-national components. A major or minor autonomy also in the field of foreign relations, has been constitutionally attributed to these components (Cfr. Tab. 1).

Pays	Institutions « régionales »	Date de création	Compétence
<i>Belgique</i>	4 provinces		Organes de décentralisation administrative
	3 Conseils économiques régionaux et Sociétés de développement régional Régionalisation provisoire	1969 Loi Périn 1974	Organes de consultation - Elargissement des compétences des Conseils économiques régionaux
<i>Danemark</i>	3 Conseils régionaux 13 Amt	Réforme du 1.4.1970	Organes de décentralisation administrative
<i>France</i>	21 régions-programme — Préfet régional — Conférence administrative régionale — Réunion régionale — CODER 21 Régions provinciales — Conseil régional — Comité économique et social	1964	Organes de décentralisation administrative et de consultation Pouvoirs délibératifs budgétaires et de consultation
<i>Grande-Bretagne</i>	11 Régional Economic Planning Councils	1956	Organes de consultation
	11 Provincial Councils	1969	Organes d'initiative administrative
<i>Irlande</i>	9 Economic Planning Regions		
<i>Italie</i>	5 régions à statut spécial	Dès l'entrée en vigueur de la Constitution d'après-guerre	Organes d'autonomie législative, exécutive et administrative
	15 Comités de programmation économique	1964	Organes de consultation
	15 régions à statut ordinaire (remplace les comités)	1970	Organes d'autonomie législative, exécutive et administrative
<i>R.F.A.</i>	11 Länder	Dès l'entrée en vigueur de la Constitution de la R.F.A.	Etats fédérés
<i>Pays-Bas</i>	11 Provinces		Organes de décentralisation administrative

Tab. 1 - The regional institutions in the European Community countries
Source: R.PETRELLA, Planification et régionalisation, in
Les régions transfrontalières de l'Europe, AIEE, Genève 1975,
p.45

3.2.4. Boundaries and international relations

We have already underlined here above the importance assumed by the nature of the international relations between two nation-states that share a common border on the possibility to have effective transfrontier relations. In dealing with this problem we need to introduce the second fundamental element that is present in the interactive situation. We are studying, in fact, the (regional) transfrontier cooperation in Europe. The regions have been presented above, together with their differentiations. The second element is the frontier: the partners have interactions across frontiers and the type and even the possibility of having these interactions depend again on their nature and permeability.

Frontiers and boundaries have been studied quite thoroughly during the last years. The impulse for these studies was especially produced after the recognition of the relevance of the boundary definition, when dealing with systems, in a general systems theory perspective, whether this system is a cell, a society or a state (this last here being the case).

It has to be stated first, that the difference between frontier and boundaries lies in the fact that the term "frontier" has a more limited application, being restricted to the legal "line established by international agreements and which circumscribes the area in which the norms of the system can be positively enforced" (11). The term boundary is, on the contrary, more comprehensive in its application. The basic categories of boundaries are the spatial (physical, territorial) and the functional (analytical) ones. This simple differentiation has been expanded and it has been stated that socio-cultural-ecological" systems are surrounded by a wide border zone, which includes:

- "(a) the geographical border (i.e. the territory in which most of its elements are included);
- (b) the normative, legal boundary (the line established by international agreements and which circumscribes the area in which the norms of the system can be positively enforced);
- (c) the economic boundary (the area most affected by the productive and distributive activities of the system);
- (c) the military boundary (the area comprised of the defence activities of the system; in the case of super-powers it does not coincide with the normative boundary, but includes far away areas);
- (d) the cultural boundary (i.e. the area in which the values, language and other cultural traits are diffused);
- (f) the ethnic boundary (the area inhabited by people who identify themselves closely with the culture of the system);
- (g) the psychological boundary (i.e. the area which is most commonly found present in the mental framework, the "iconography" of the members of the system)"[12].

The fact that such boundaries are a multiplicity and that they are not coincident, but more or less always overlap, enhances greatly the likelihood of having interactions. We find, indeed, on both sides of the legal frontier, border areas, homogeneous in respect of some of the important variables that allow the possibility of having fruitful interactions. At least there is agreement on the fact that these interactions are possible and, indeed, fruitful for the two parties involved. Homogeneity in respect of some crucial variables does not mean complete homogeneity; indeed this would be defeating the possibility of having interaction, as is the case (taking the example from thermodynamics), of two communicating vessels that have reached equilibrium with the complete mixing of the liquid, which formerly had a different

temperature. No more exchange of molecules occurs when the complete homogeneity (equilibrium) has been reached. The importance of having differences of potential in the case of states has been underlined by E.Sussi:

"the border regions have an interest in maintaining the differences of potential, which with the opening of the border, give place to the exchange of economic products, culture, experiences and information. The differences of potential should not be so great, ^{as} not to create disequilibria in the bargaining power of the bordering regions. In the case of great disequilibrium the nation-state with the weaker region could be compelled to develop a border policy of defence and closure (13). It can be stated that transactions are more intense where the maximum diversity is coupled with maximum border opening.

When the analysis is restricted to the boundaries of the nation-states, most commonly labelled as frontiers, a typology can be developed that has been paralleled, by F.Gross, to the corresponding classes of relations (14):

Class of relations	Class of frontier
1. Co-operation	1. Periphery
2. Remote tension	{weak front} 2. Civilised border
3. Non-consequential tension	3. Open border
<hr/> neutrality line <hr/>	
4. Consequential tension	4. Closed border
5. Near-critical tension	{strong front.} 5. Berlin Wall frontier
6. Critical tension-antagonism	6. Sealed frontier

The passage from one class of frontiers to another has, as can be seen, effects on the type of relations that are possible; the most important step being the passage from the closed to the open border.

The discussion developed in the last paragraphs also permits us

to single out the justification for the choice of the term cooperation in labelling the transfrontier relations analysed in the present chapter. We maintain, in fact, that the political situation of the Europe of today, permits the classification of the borders

present, at least those internal to the EEC, in the first category (periphery). The corresponding class of relations is cooperation. This is not meant to neglect the possibility of having local potentially conflictual situations here and there (15).

The term cooperation has been chosen to underline the empirical finding that in the post-war Europe this is the prevailing trend. It may be also added that ^{cooperation} while most frequent, as has been said, among the EEC members, especially during the last twenty years, has ^{also} been developing at an important pace

with those countries that are not EEC members (i.e.: Switzerland and Austria) or that were formerly classified in the opposite international political group (i.e. Yugoslavia).

3.2.5. The transfrontier region

We have already given a definition of transfrontier region as a field of density of relations and forces (this is based on a territorial substratum (16). Alternative or integrative definitions may be proposed. C. Ricq himself indicates that three levels may be analysed:

- a) the physical level (spatial aspect), with the natural region and the "region-cadre",
- b) the sociological level (relational aspect), with the ethnic and the functional region,
- c) the political level (institutional aspect), with the global planning region and the institutional region (whether contractual or political) (17).

Other Authors point out the necessity to study the transfrontier as a systemic region (R. Strassoldo) or propose the alternative

between the functional and the transnational region (Massart- Pierard) or suggest the strategy to take into consideration the "contiguities" to define the regions (Gori) (18).

The problem is that the field is not yet ripe for a choice among these classifications. So the stand point that the regional phenomenon is complex and extremely variegated in its realizations ^{can be accepted.} and objectives. But a "theory of the region" will be developed in the near future: "cette doctrine aurait pour base la région perçue comme finalité, et l'espace utilisé comme moyen d'action. Sans doute qu'avant de réaliser cette doctrine régionale, la nécessité s'impose d'analyser les régions de fait, les régions transfrontalières en voie d'émergence" (19).

Accordingly an overview will be presented here of the known experiences of transfrontier cooperation in Europe, considering as transfrontier regions those that "de facto" reveal their existence through their relational (cooperative) activity. Unfortunately a general and accurate inventory of these transfrontier cooperative regions has not been produced yet. The presentation will thus be based on the few available sources: the lists and classifications provided by V.Malchus, that of R.Strassoldo and the Council of Europe bulletins on "transfrontier cooperation" (20). These sources give an array of examples sufficiently large for the scope of the present chapter.

3.2.5.1. Localization of the transfrontier regions in Europe and objectives of cooperation

A crucial subdivision of the transfrontier regions can be operated taking into account the type of the border on which these regions are located. Since the European countries can be grouped into: EEC members, other Occidental or non-aligned and eastern (Warsaw pact) countries, these borders can be either

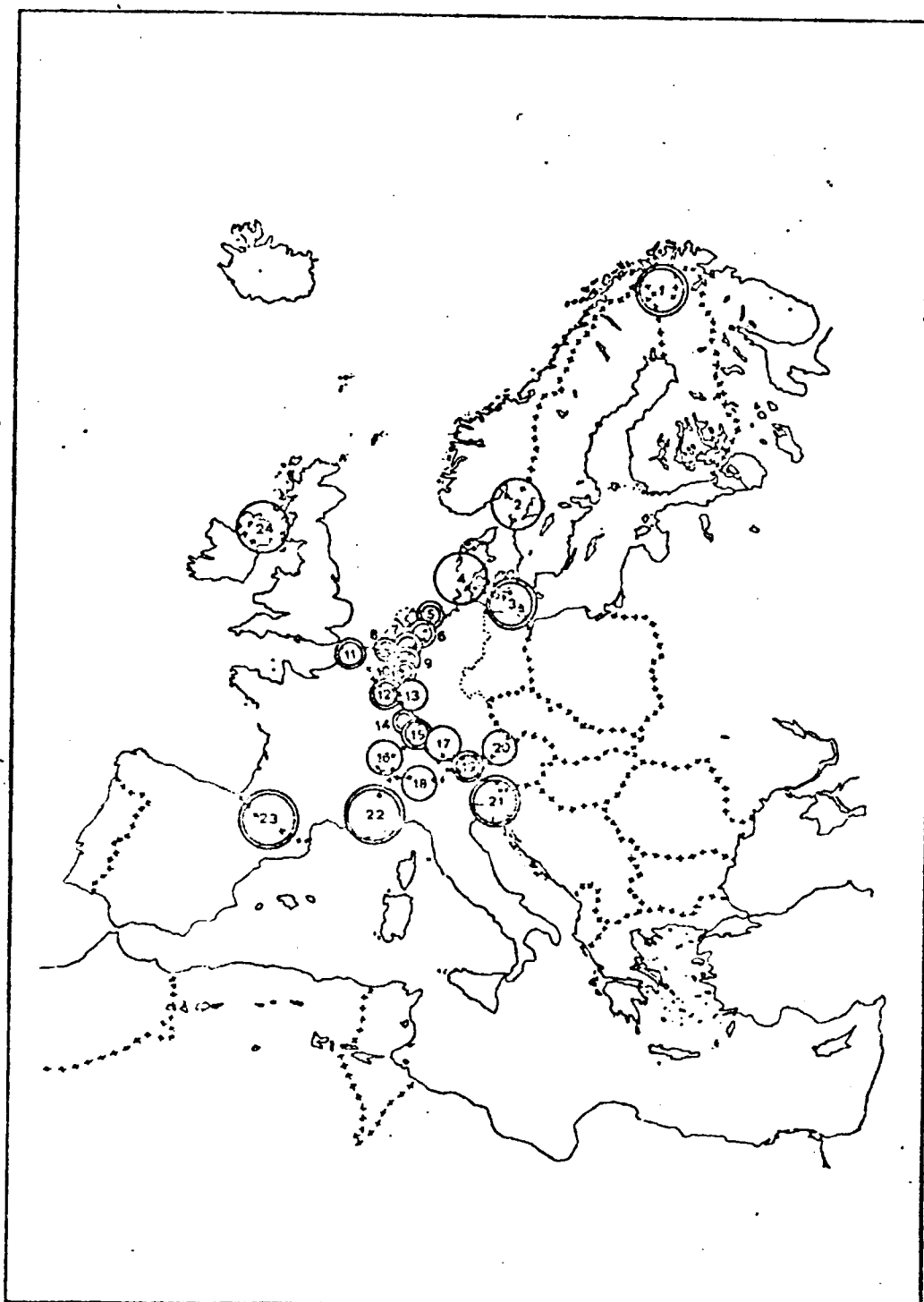


Fig. 11 - European transfrontier regions

Source: V.von MALCHUS, Methodes et pratique de la cooperation internationale des régions frontalières européennes, in R.STRASSOLDI (ed.), Boundaries and regions, Lint, Trieste 1973, p.192.

Tableau - Liste provisoire et non exhaustive des régions frontalières organisées et envisagées en Europe en 1971

N.	Dénomination de la région frontalière	Pays intéressés	Données structurelles			Niveau d'organisation (actuel + envisagé)	Projets d'activité
			km ²	hab. en millions	hab. km ²		
1	Calottes du Nord	N + S + SF				Commission ad hoc des gouvernements. Conférence permanente envisagée	Analyse régionale infrastructure des transports, centre de formation des adultes, implantations industrielles, améliorations structurelles
2	Halden Strömstad	N + S					
3	København - Malmö	DK + S				Commission d'études	Construction d'un pont par dessus l'Öresund, aéroport international sur Saltholm
4	Flensburg-Apenrade	DK + D				Premiers contact en vue du "group de travail côte occidentale"	Infrastructure des transports, publicité touristique
5	Groningen-Friesland Ostfriesland-Enschede	NL + D				Groups ad hoc en vue de préparer une organisation	Préparation
6	EUREGIO	NL + D	7.757	1,6	206	Commission Mozer, group de travail, secrétariat en tant qu'organe de coordination, Conseil EUREGIO - est envisagé	Analyse régionale, extension de l'infrastructure des transports et culturelle, encouragement du processus d'intégration germano-néerlandais, population bilingue, institut européen

Fig. 11 - Transfrontier region in Europe (legende)

7	Regio Rhein-Waal	NL + D	3.492	1,2	329	Cercle de travail pour le développement régional doté d'un secrétariat propre récemment créé	Ouverture d'autres passages frontaliers, infrastructure des transports, établissements d'éducation et sociaux communs
8	Centrale du Benelux	NL + B		5,3		Group d'étude de Hasselt, grand nombre de regroupements d'associations, de contacts officiels; secrétariat commun, commission pour l'aménagement du territoire	Analyses régionales, planification structurelle par le développement d'un modèle structurel, infrastructure des transports
9	Liège-Limbourg-Aachen	B + NL + D	10.000	3,3	330	Grand nombre de groupes d'études, comité d'encouragement, aucune organisation; but: commission internationale permanente dotée d'un secrétariat propre	Analyse régionale, planification régionale sous le patronage de la CEE
10	Belgo-Franco-Luxembourg-geroise Arlon-Longwy-Esch	B + F + L	2.096	0,3	150	Commission internationale de représentants des autorités nationales et régionales, experts, collectivités locales, grand nombre de groupements particuliers	Analyse régionale, zone ind. comm. franco-belge, parc naturel, échange de jeunes
11	Nord-Pas-de-Calais	F + B				Conférence gouvernementale dotée d'un comité régional, contacts entre les collectivités locales	Planification régionale, amélioration structurelle, extension portuaire, développ. urbain Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing, constitution d'une zone franche à la frontière

Fig. 11 - (continued)

12	Lorraine-Sarre-Luxembourg	F + D + L		3,2		Commission au niveau gouvernemental	Infrastructure des transports, planification régionale, amélioration structurelle
13	Mittelbaden-Strasbourg	D + F	4.000	1,0	250	Contacts régionaux plurianuels, commission des chambres de comm. et d'ind.	Echanges d'information, planification régionale, infrastructure des transports
14	Communauté d'int. Moyenne Alsace-Breisgau-CIMAB	D + F	3.752	0,7	175	Association enregistrée au sens du BGB sous la direction des collectivités locales communales	Harmonisation de la planification régionale, infrastructure des transports, localité de développ. internation. Breisach-Neuf-Brisach
15	Regio	CH + F + D	9.100	2,0	220	Office de coordination internationale conformément traité cantonal, commission gouvernement. intern. pour la coordination. est envisagée	Harmonisation de la planification régionale, infrastructure des transports, aéroport international Bâle-Mulhouse, centrales nucléaires, ponts sur le Rhin, installations de dépollution
16	Lac de Genève	CH + F + I				Premiers contacts officiels	Maintien de la salubrité du lac de Genève
17	Lac de Constance	D + CH + A				Premiers contacts gouvernementaux germano-suisses, commission de l'aménagement du territoire	Infrastructure des transports, navigation sur le lac de Constance, salubr. du lac de Constance, liaison avec le gazoduc allem.

Fig. 11 - (continued)

18	Ticino	CH + I					Normalisation politique, coopération des Universités, coopération régionale plus intensive est envisagée
19	Innsbruck-Bolzano (Région des Alpes)	A + I					Grand nombre d'initiatives individuelles, premier contacts gouvernementaux, régionaux, coopération des parlements par réunions communes et commissions communes envisagées
20	Salzburg	A + D					
21	Alpes-Adriatique (Friuli Venezia Giulia-Kärnten-Slovenija)	A + I + YU	37.641	3,4	90		Initiatives culturelles, établissement de recherche internationale de Trieste, amélioration des relations économiques
22	Franco-Italienne delle Alpi	F + I	67.000	6,3	104		Infrastr. des transp., construction de tunnels, analyse de l'emploi, relations commerciales, problèmes zones de montagne, tourisme
23	Pyrénées	S + F					Infrastructure des transports, coordination des investissements publics, tunnel routiers par les Pyrénées

Fig. 11 - (continued)

internal to these "blocks" or external (dividing countries that pertain to two different groups), thus creating a sixfold combination. It will be seen however that, according to what has been said in the preceeding section, transfrontier cooperation has been developed more intensely along those borders that have been classified as peripheries or, in any case, open borders (above the neutrality line) (21).

An alternative traditional subdivision of the transfrontier regions takes into account criteria of a more geographic kind grouping them into a few axes or (again) regions.

a. Scandinavian region

All the countries included in this area belong to the Nordic Council that has promoted cooperation especially in the Nordkalotten area where the problems to be solved are those of analysing and improving the communication system and the standard of living of the local populations. Other active transfrontier regions of this area are those located at the southern border of Norway and Sweden and in the "Channel zone" between Denmark and Sweden (København-Malmö) where again infrastructural problems are to be dealt with.

b. Rhine Basin

This is the area where transfrontier cooperation has been developing more intensively and is more institutionalised. This has been possible for many reasons that range from the membership of all the countries there to the EEC, to the historical memory of those populations' past adherence to the same political unity (the border shifted several times in that area during the last few centuries); and especially to,

the presence of the River Rhine that, while having an immense economic importance for the countries it goes through, creates problems on regulating the navigation and the other uses.

Along this axis and especially in the s.c. North-Western region the cooperation also takes place on a multilateral base. The most active and long established transfrontier regions are namely, (among others), the Euregio, Euregio-Bodensee, Euregio-Noord and the Regio Basiliensis. For all these transfrontier regions the most immediate objectives are the analysis and implementation of regional planning, the extension of transport infrastructures, the construction of bridges across the Rhine, the creation of new border cross-points, the cultural and youth exchanges, the solution of problems related to the creation of power plants and the increasing pollution in the Rhine.

c. The Alpine Region

The objectives of transfrontier cooperation in this area are partially coincident with those listed for the Rhine Basin. It can be added that in the Alpine Region an effort is made to cope with the problems that ^{relate to} the pollution of the great Swiss lakes, the creation of transfrontier natural reserves and programs of touristic exploitation. Also in this area, the presence of a numerous collectivity of transfrontier workers creates problems of regulation and betterment of their economic and social condition.

Cooperation has been particularly developed in the Alpazur region (between France and Italy), ^{also} in the areas surrounding the lake of Constance and Geneva, between Tyrol (Innsbruck) and Alto-Adige (Bolzano) and in the Alps-Adriatic region (Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia).

d) Eastern Europe

Relatively little is known about what happens along the frontiers of the Eastern Block. Movement of persons (the lymph of transfrontier cooperation) are limited by monetary restriction, and by the strict control on the concession of visas due to a certain bureaucratism and to the fear that the minorities living in those regions may be potentially irredentist. If there are examples of transfrontier cooperation (especially along the River Danube for the reasons already observed in the case of the Rhine), they are not spontaneous, but rigidly controlled by the center through the traditional instruments of the interstate relations.

3.2.5.2. Forms of organization

A typology of the institutional mechanisms, the organizational frameworks within which the cooperation develops, has been elaborated by Von Malchus who distinguishes among:

- Cooperation on the basis of intergovernmental agreements, conventions or governmental recommendations;
- cooperation on the basis of parliamentary initiatives;
- cooperation on the basis of treaties;
- cooperation of local collectivities and other organizations on the basis of private law conventions;
- tight cooperation of local collectivities and other organizations, without any form of juridical organization, but characterized by a fixed organizational structure;
- loose cooperation of local collectivities and other organizations, without any form of juridical organization;
- occasional cooperation according to necessities (22).

The Author himself is aware that the list is not complete and that alternative typologies may be constructed by taking into account the origin of the members of the organizations, the means of financing or the principles of organization. It has to be affirmed, however, that the matter will be probably rationalized when and if, the framework provided by the initiative of the Council of Europe, examined in the following section, will be enforced.

3.2.6. Transfrontier regions and Europe _

The two principal interlocutors of the transfrontier regions at the supra-national level are the European Community and the Council of Europe. The action of the European Community in favour of the transfrontier regions is severely limited by two principal facts: firstly, only the problems of the frontier regions internal to the Community may have a solution within a communitarian context, secondly, the Community is not qualified to treat issues that go beyond the economic or socio-economic sector. Other juridical, administrative or cultural problems have to find their solution on the basis of direct bilateral agreements. The chance for sub-national regions to have public law relations with cross-frontier counterparts is in fact a matter restricted to the internal constitutional system of the nation-states with which the Community cannot interfere.

There is only one case, at present, when in 1963, a recommendation was delivered, to Belgium and France, to enact transfrontier agreements ^{in order} to exploit the economic complementarities of the Lorraine and the Belgian Luxembourg (23). A quite limited possibility of EEC intervention can also be obtained by the use of such instruments as the European Fund of Economic Development and the Committee on Regional Policy.

The main contribution of the Council of Europe to the promotion of transfrontier cooperation is the recently launched European

Frame-Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation of the Collectivities and Local Authorities. The convention was open to signature at the Fourth Conference of the European Ministers Responsible for the Local Collectivities, held in Madrid on May 21st. 1980. The objective of the convention is to: "retracer des bases juridiques générales communes sur lesquelles pourrait se fonder, dans le cadre de la souveraineté nationale de chaque pays, la coopération bilatérale, celle-ci devant s'adapter aux situations particulières à chaque pays et à chaque région" (24). To this end the Convention is accompanied by a set of models of agreement that, according to different situations, may be signed by the partners.

At present, the Convention has been signed by the Governments of Austria, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, FRG, while other countries are about to sign: Belgium, ^{and} Switzerland. The Convention needs to be ratified by four member countries to become fully operative.

3.2.7. Transfrontier cooperation in the Alpe-Adria

Transfrontier cooperation in the Eastern part of the Alpine Region has been particularly active, especially during the most recent years. The two political facts that boosted this cooperation were, as has been already seen, the opening of the frontier with Yugoslavia and the creation of the Autonomous Region Friuli-Venetia Giulia. This region from the very first years of its constitution in 1963, has given a particular emphasis to its external relations, especially towards the neighbouring regions of Austria (Carinthia and Styria) and Yugoslavia (Slovenia and Croatia). The objective of this cooperation was, first of all, the promotion of a fruitful cooperation among regions that, while pertaining to different political and economic contexts, present some unitarian characteristics, which ^{derive} from the long-dated common historical experience. Moreover, at present such regions share a series of

problems that may be more easily solved by an unitary action. The most ambitious objective goes beyond these short(geographically) range efforts of cooperation and is meant to actualize, and to develop the potential role of the Friuli-Venetia Julia Region and of the Regions of the Alpe-Adria as a bridge in Europe between East and West and between North and South.

The result of this effort is the constitution of the Quadrigon and the joining of the Community of the Länder and Regions of the Eastern Alps.

The Quadrigon was founded in 1989 by Friuli-Venetia Julia, Slovenia, Croatia and Carinthia as a "Committee of Cooperation in the Sectors of Tourism and Regional Planning". This Committee meets twice a year to discuss problems of transfrontier cooperation such as the coordination of the regional policies on the infrastructure of transport and communication, the coordination of regional initiatives for the defence of the natural environment, and for the development of tourism and leisure. The most important document produced by the Committee has been the quadrilingual "Common report on regional planning" of 1975 (25).

The "Arge-Alp" Community (from *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Länder und Regionen der Ostalpengebiete*) was founded in Venice in 1978 by the signature of a protocol agreement. The founding members are the Italian regions Veneto and Friuli-Venetia Julia, the Austrian Länder of Carinthia, Styria, and Upper Austria, the Yugoslav Socialist Republics of Croatia and Slovenia. The Austrian Land of Salzburg and the German State of Bavaria have the status of active observers. Goals of the Community are those of jointly treating, at an informative and technical level, such common problems as: the production and transport of energy, agriculture, forestry, water resources, tourism, environment protection, regional and city planning and cultural relations. To cope with these objectives four permanent commissions have been formed on: envi-

ronment and regional planning, infrastructures, economic problems and cultural relations.

The Community has been operational for a too short period of time to allow but a tentative account of its achievements and failures. The difficulties derive, first of all, from the different institutional competence of the members, from the different political-institutional national context to which they belong and, sometimes, from the opposition of central Governments. However, this is not always the case: recently the Austrian government has recognized that its Länders' joining the Community suits its foreign policy (26).

Among the achievements of the Community we can cite the solution of the problem of the contested direct freeway between Munich and Venice, by proposing an alternative route, the publishing of a book containing a series of monographs on the member regions together with an interesting cartography on social and economic aspects of the Community is also in progress (27).

3.3. Friuli-Venetia Julia and the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region

3.3.1. Geographical aspects

Only a few remarks will be presented here on the geographical aspects of the area that is the "core" of our analysis.

The geographical aspects play a most important role in the case of the flows of transactions between states and/or economic regions. These flows are in fact influenced in amount and direction by the market laws that severely penalize certain directions of traffic when and if the ways of communication (the channels) are not adequate.

In the case of transnational relations (with events that are much more purposeful, political in character) such geographical "accidents" do not have the same impact.

But they do have one, especially in the case of a sub-species of transnational interactions; the transfrontier relations.

What I have reasoned thus far is, in fact, much more valid for the interactions with the "distant" counterparts in the processes of interactions. When dealing with the transfrontier regions, it is another story. A system simply cannot "ignore" its immediate environment. The Tuscany region might not have significant amount of interactions with Slovenia, but in the case of Friuli a blockade in the flow of interactions with neighboring Slovenia becomes a relevant phenomenon.

The assumption is that, in the case of transnational relations, the spatial proximity more than the conditions of communication is a key variable to explain the amount of events. The discrepancies in this model will be explained by the intervention of other variables, which will be presented below in this chapter.

The Friuli-Venetia Julia region is located at the extreme north-eastern part of Italy. It borders on the eastern side with the Yugoslav

Republic of Slovenia, to the North with the Austrian Land of Carinthia, to the West with the Italian Region of Veneto and to the South with the Adriatic Sea. The border with Austria runs along the Carnic Alps. The valleys are parallel to the border and so the mountains are not easily crossed. This makes contacts quite difficult. The most important cross-points are those of Monte Croce Carnico that links the sub-region of Carnia with the Western part of Austria and through the Felbertauern Tunnel with Bavaria. The other important cross-point is that of Coccau on the way to Wien. The border with Yugoslavia is much more easily crossed. Here the mountains are not as high as in the Northern side. The most important cross-points are those located in Gorizia and those in the Province of Trieste.

All these cross-points and ways of communication link Friuli also with a "second-row" of transfrontier partners: Styria in Austria and Croatia in Yugoslavia.

It has been decided to broaden the definition of transfrontier region to include Styria and Croatia in an attempt to test the data the existence of the proposed socio-political image of an Alpine-Adria transfrontier region, which in one of its formulations, is actually composed of: Friuli-Venetia Julia, Carinthia, Styria, Slovenia and Croatia (28).

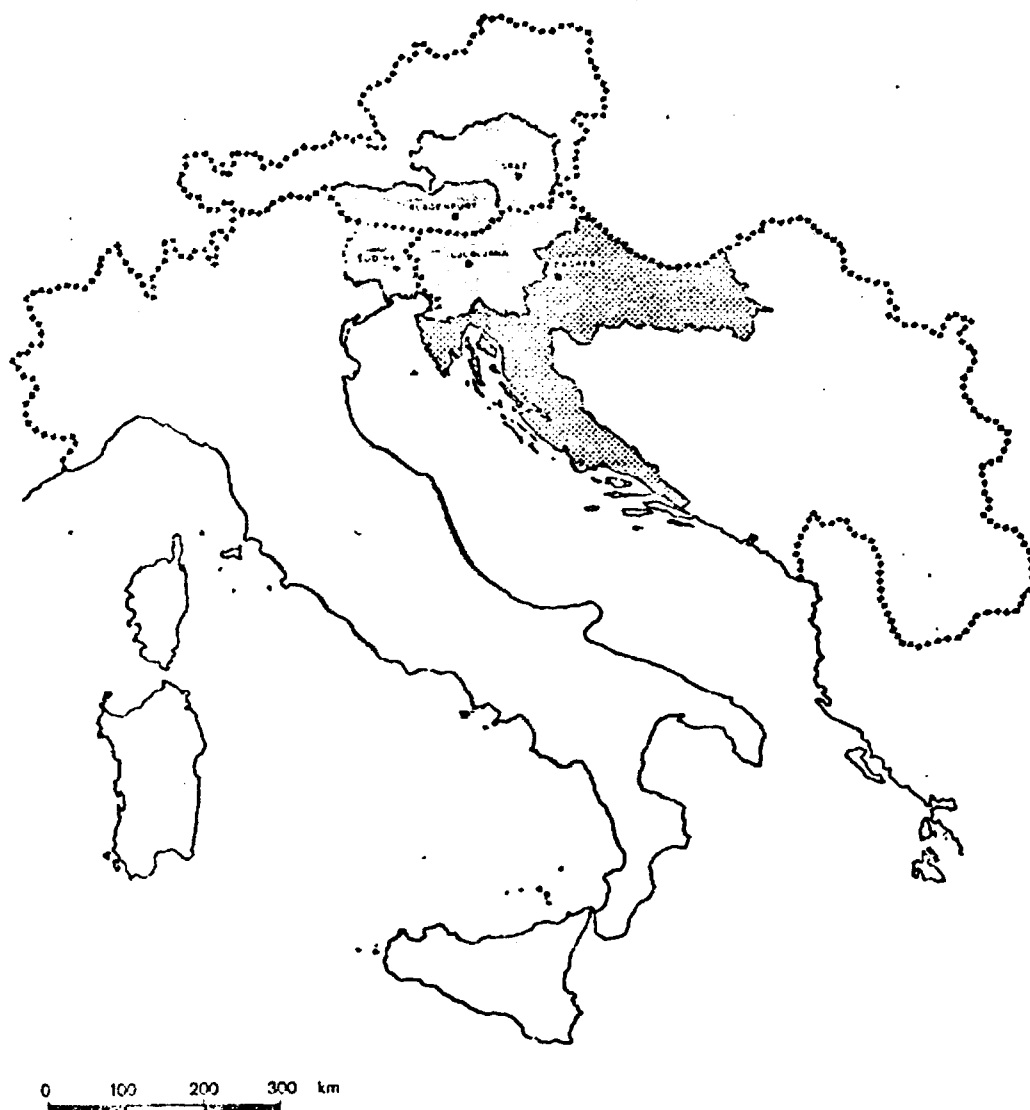


Fig.12- The Transfrontier Region Alpe-Adria

3.3.2. Historical background

The historical destiny of this corner of Europe is strictly related to its geographical location.

Friuli-Venetia Julia is now a frontier region, but it has not always been so. During some periods of its history, Friuli was, together with the neighbouring regions, a part of a single political unit. The international role of the region changed several times being considered in turn a "barrier" or a "junction" (29). The two

aspects probably are, at this time, the two sides of the same coin.

The stages of the process that made Friuli-Venetia Julia a frontier region with tasks, at the same time, of extreme bulwark of the Western civilization and of link and bridge to the Eastern world, can be summarized as follows. The history of Friuli of the Roman times can be identified with the history of Aquileia (cfr. fig. 13).

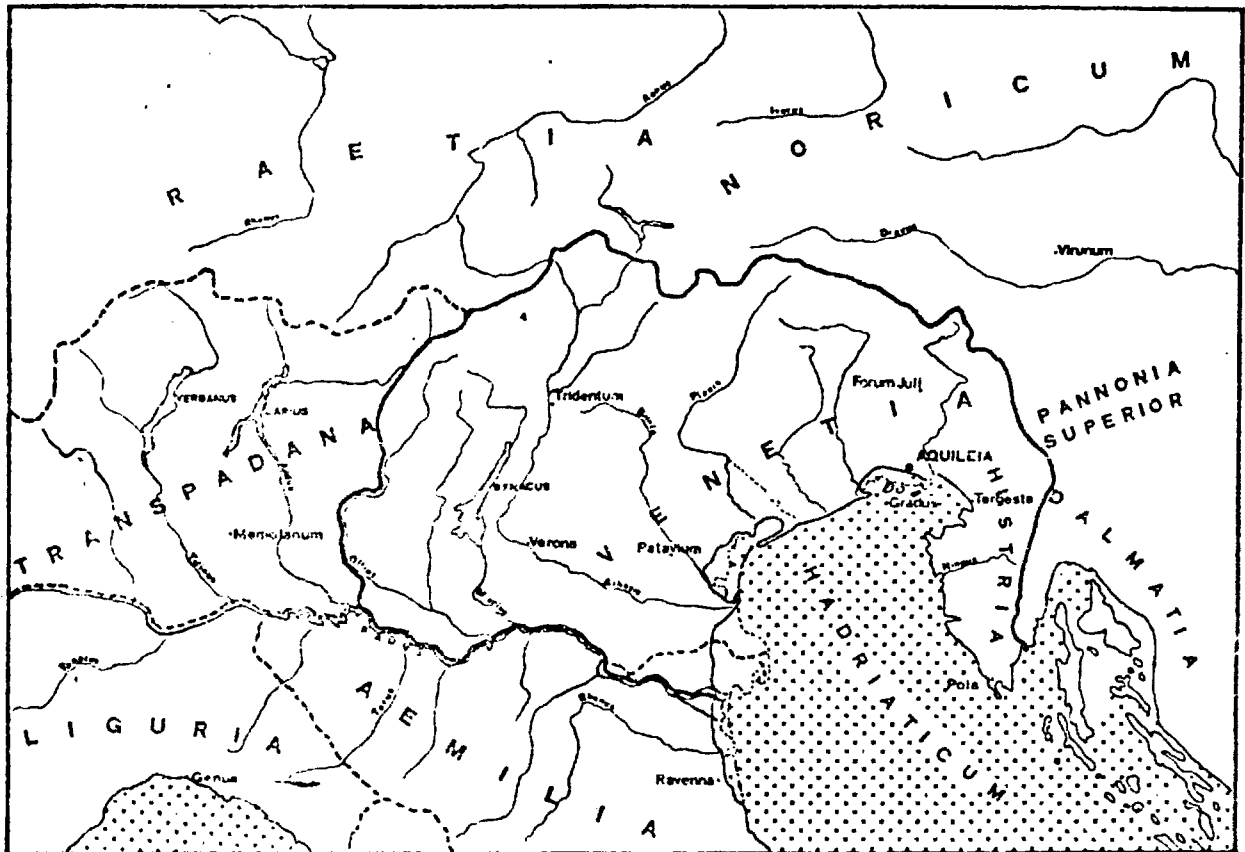


Fig. 13 - X Regio (Venetia and Histria) (III - IV centuries A.D.)

Aquileia, once one of the great cities of the Roman Empire, was founded as a military colony to safeguard the traffic of Rome with the "Noricum" and the central regions of Europe, up to the Baltic regions. Another role of Aquileia was that of controller of the "easy" mountain passes of the Julian Alps through which, during the centuries, many "barbaric" populations from the Center-East of Europe came to invade the "desirable" Italian regions.

With the growth of the Empire, Aquileia lost part of its function as barrier, and became rather a "moral" capital of a large territory, including the Noricum, Pannonia, part of Vindeliccia and Bosnia (cfr. fig. 14).

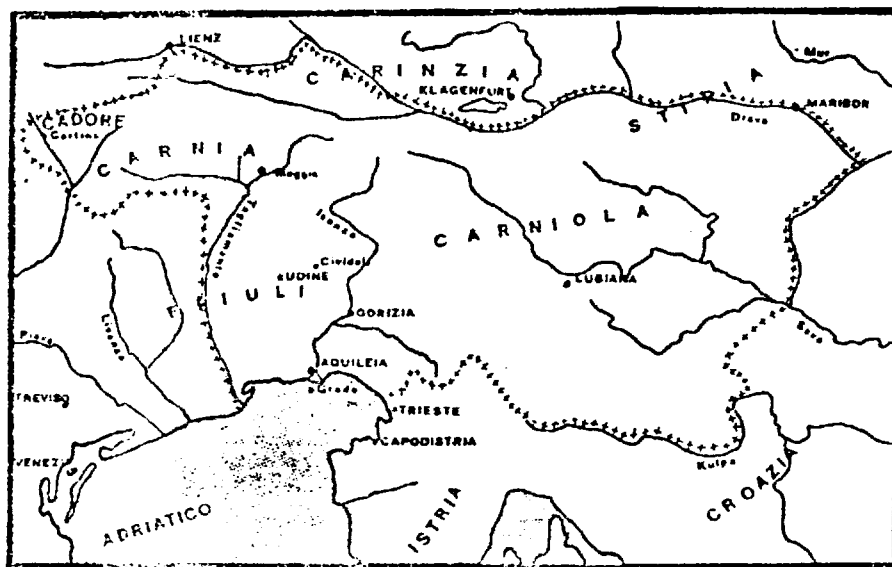


Fig. 14-The patriarchal Diocese of Aquileia (XII - XIII centuries A.D.)

With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Aquileia became again the extreme frontier of "Romanity" and a long period of invasions started. Huns (452), Goths (489), Longobards (568), "Avari" (620), Hungarians (899-952) and Turks (1471-1499) invaded this region again and again. The list continues with the invasions that occurred during the 15th and 16th centuries' wars between Venice and Austria.

It is not necessary to enter into very much detail here. Those periods have certainly a relevance, but we can perhaps limit the feeling of togetherness that might derive from those distant vicissitudes at the level of the "collective unconscious" of the local populations. We are much more interested in the more recent facts, directly experienced by, or indirectly reported to, the present population. During the last century the border with the Germanic world was not subjected to important changes. The outcome of the World War I led

only to the inclusion of the salient of Tarvisio into the Province of Udine. It might also be added that after the Italian retreat of Caporetto the region was, as it used to be for a long period in more ancient times, again under the Austrian rule for two years. We have another such example during World War II when, in 1943, the region, together with part of Slovenia and Croatia were included in the Adriatisches Küstenland under the German Reich (Cfr. fig.15).

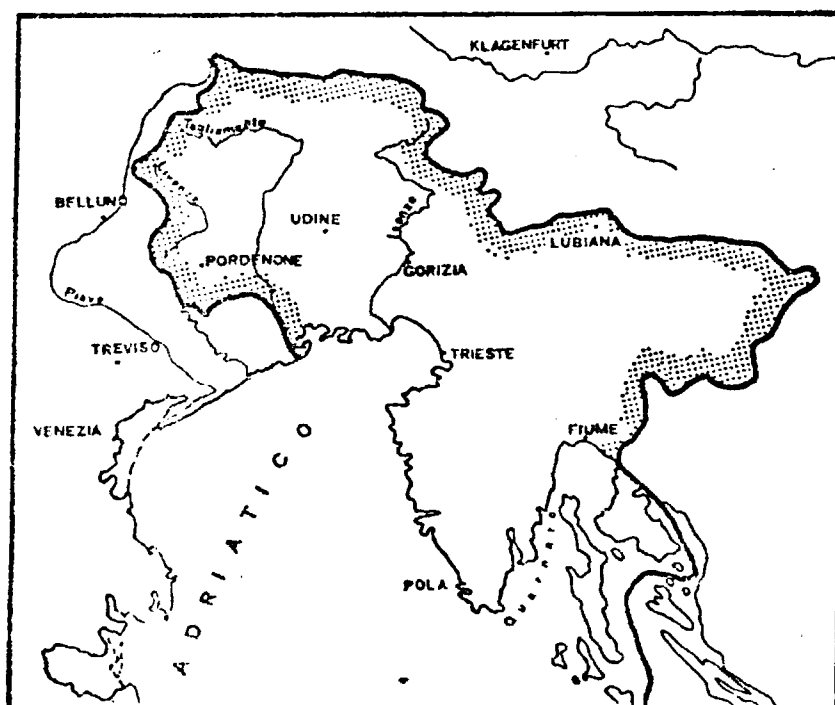


Fig.15 -The Adriatisches Küstenland (1944-1945)

It is interesting here to note that the justification for this political-military operation was actually sought in a revival of the cultural and sentimental ties between the German speaking world and what had been the Habsburg Küstenland district. Also, the economic interests of Trieste, which saw a season of great development as the Port of the Empire, were stressed and ^{so,} the Friulian cultural identity as separate from the Venetian one was emphasized (30).

The border situation on the eastern side has been very fluid. With the victory in World War I, Italy annexed the Provinces of Gorizia and Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia and, after 1924, Fiume (Rijeka).

The border moved back again after the end of World War II almost to the location proceeding World War I, leaving to Italy only part of the Province of Gorizia (with the border-line running through the urban area) and Trieste, which was to be organized as the "Free Territory of Trieste" but in fact the London Memorandum gave ^{it} back to Italy in 1954 (cfr. fig. 16).

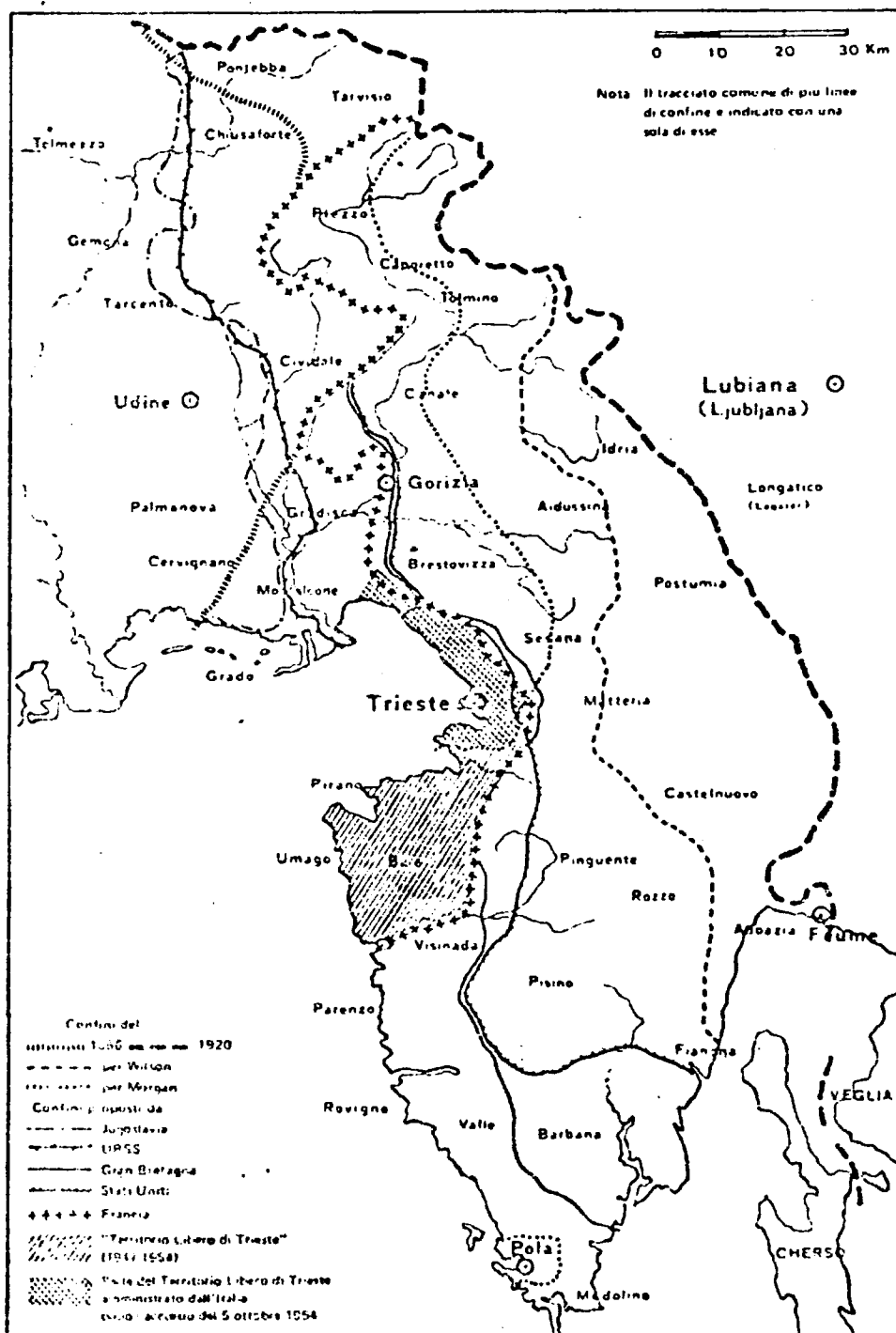


Fig. 16-Some past, present and proposed eastern boundaries

Source: G. VALUSSI, *Il confine italo-jugoslavo*, in R. STRASSOLDI (ed.),

Boundaries and Regions, Lint, Trieste, 1973.

3.3.3. Two social aspects

Two major issues, which seem relevant to the study of transnational relations, regarding the social situation of the region Friuli-Venetia Julia, will be touched on here: the ethnic situation of the area and the problem of emigration.

3.3.3.1. The ethnic situation

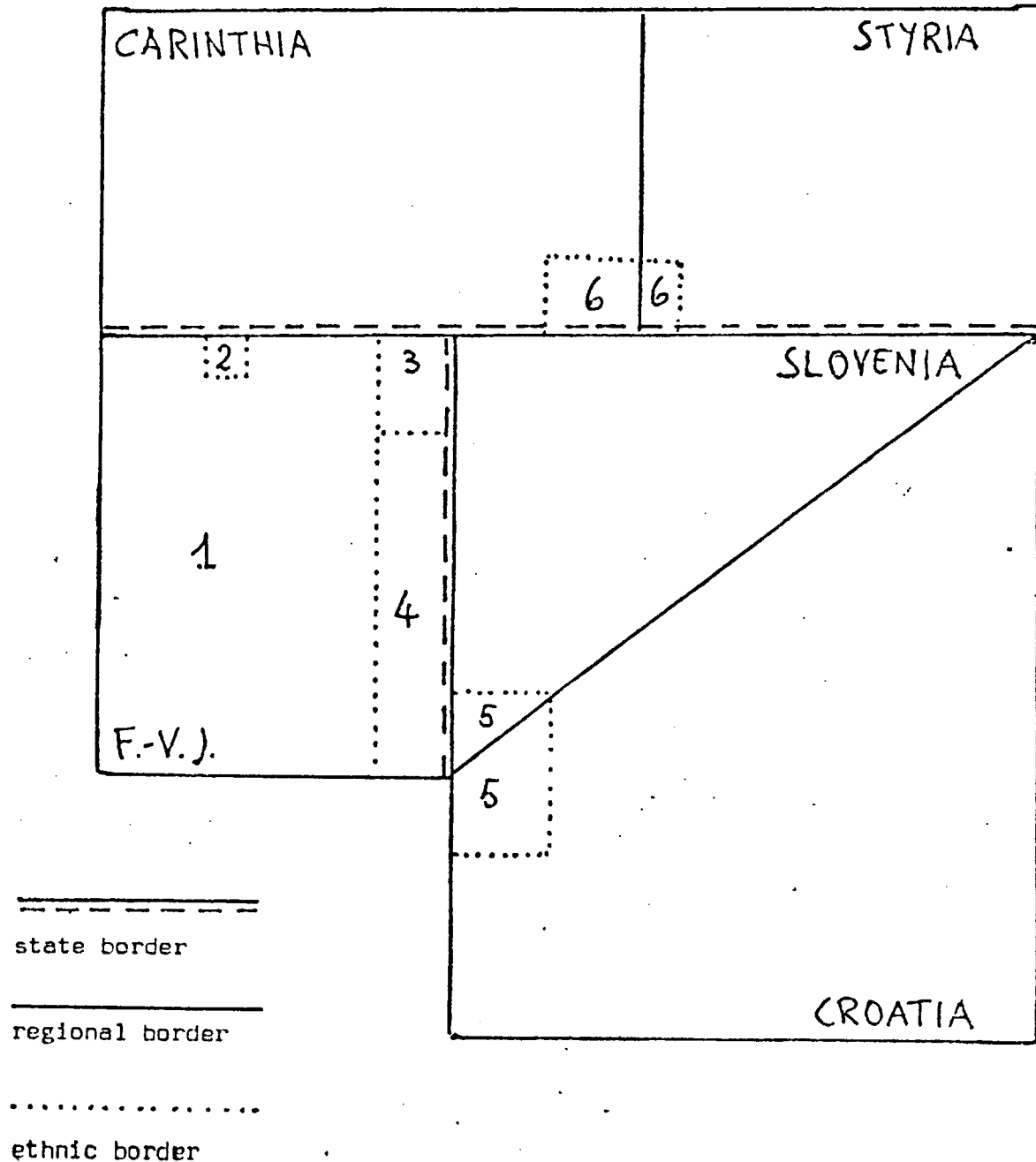


Fig. 17-The ethnic situation of the Transfrontier Region Alpe-Adria

The ethnic situation in the transfrontier Alpe-Adria region is a quite complex one, as may be inferred from all the historical background sketched above.

The situation can be described by means of a scheme (cfr. fig. 17). I preferred to use a scheme instead of a map of the region because there is not a concordance among the various authors and official data on the consistence of the various ethnic minorities. The lines traced refer more to an indication of the localization of the minorities than to their relative importance.

Referring to the numbers used in the scheme we have the following ethnic groups:

1) The Friulian-Ladins.

It is the main ethnic group of the region. The Friulians are present in all the four provinces of Friuli-Venetia Giulia and their present number has been estimated at about 500.000 (31). They are not present, as a group, in the other four transfrontier regions, but their presence is widespread in the rest of the world. I will deal below with this ^{phenomenon} under the heading: the Friulian emigration.

2) The German peninsulae in Carnia.

In the northern part of Friuli there are traces of some communities of German speaking people in the Communes of Paluzza (Timau) and Sauris. This population derives ethnically from some groups of peasants and miners who ^{themselves} established in the zone during the XII century.

3) The Val Canale (Kanalthal) "melting pot".

The extreme north-eastern part of Friuli can really be considered as an ethnic melting pot. It is the geographical spot where the three

main European stocks meet: Latin, German, Slavic. The German speaking population settled in this zone a century after their settlement of the other Carnic peninsulae. The area had been colonized before by the Slavic populations during the VI-VII centuries, but the language of the newcomers, though fewer in number, prevailed because the Kanalthal was part of Carinthia up to 1919 and many Slovenes passed to the German language (32). With the passage of the area under the Italian rule, the valley started to be tri-lingual or, better, quadri-lingual if we correctly distinguish between Friulians and Italians.

The present situation is one of slow but steady weakening of these minorities (areas 2 and 3), having now a mere anthropological interest. They are, however, a living testimony of the long habit of these populations to live together without any, at least manifest, major troubles.

For the Slovenes, in particular, it can be said that their conscience to belong to a national minority is growing, following the general awakening of this feeling which can be recorded also in other parts of the region.

4) The Slovenes of the Provinces of Udine, Gorizia and Trieste.

The ethnic border of Friuli to the North coincides almost perfectly with the political and geographical one. The situation is quite different on the eastern border. Here the coincidence of the three kinds of borders is very weak, so that the political border fixed by the London Memorandum of 1954 and the Osimo Agreement of 1975 left in Italian territory a number of Slovenes and in Slovenia and Croatia, Italian populations.

The estimates on the number of Slovenes living in the region do not coincide, varying from about 50.000 to 120.000 (33). Of these, a large part reside in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia

and a minor part in the valleys of Torre and Natisone in the Province of Udine. Those living in Trieste are sufficiently protected in their right to maintain their language and culture. The same cannot be said for the Slovenes that reside in the province of Udine. In an intermediate position can be placed the Slovenes of the Province of Gorizia. Another difference among these groups resides in the fact that the groups who are isolated in their mountaneous settlements of the so called Slavic Venetia maintain weaker linkages with Slovenia than those who live in the Provinces of Gorizia and Trieste.

5) The Italians of Istria and Fiume.

The outcome of World War II left in Yugoslavia a number of Italians, which has been calculated as more than 250.000, of whom after the exodus which started immediately, only about 30.000 are still present in Slovenia and Croatia.

This national minority is well protected by the Yugoslav authorities. This is comparable to the protection reserved by the Italian authorities to the Slovenes residing in the province of Trieste. They have Italian schools, cultural associations and Italian press.

As a general remark on the situation of both sides of the border it can be said that it has not been, especially in the not distant past, idyllic but: "while ethnic tensions have caused open, and sometimes bloody, conflicts in the first part of this century, they have no deep roots in the common people of this corner area of Europe. They were largely the result of manipulation from the center, of brutal assimilationist and expansionistic policies" (34).

6) Slovenes of Carinthia and Styria.

To have a complete map of the overlapping of ethnic and national borders with the political ones, we have to take a look at the Slovene populations present in the territories of the Austrian Lands of Carinthia and Styria. The major part of them reside in Carinthia and only a minor part in Styria. Their protection is foreseen on the base of a bilateral agreement. Today there are some problems because the protection is much more "de jure" than "de facto". This national minority has contacts with the Slovene minorities residing in Friuli-Venetia Giulia and especially with the motherland, although these contacts are quite hindered by the orography of the zone.

3.3.3.2. The Friulian emigration.

The history of Friulian emigration can be sketched following three main guiding lines.

A distinction can be made between the phenomenon of the temporary (most of times seasonal) emigration and the definitive "proper" emigration. This distinction runs parallel to one that can be traced singling out the areas of destination of the emigrants; in most cases the transoceanic emigration is a definitive emigration. This analysis of the geographical dispersion of the Friulian emigration is obviously more relevant to this research. Once the areas of major presence of emigrants is found, we can, other things being equal, explain part of the transnational relations of Friuli with that particular country.

This will be seen in general, but in particular on the occasion of the 1976 Friulian Earthquake and of the following international and transnational relief activity.

The third guide-line for an examination of emigration is the historical periodization. The following periods can be individuated, each of them showing particular features:

- 1) The period of the origins that goes from the upper Middle Age to the annexation of the Venetian Friuli to the Austrian rule in 1797 and the following Austrian domination.
- 2) The period of the great emigration waves that go on from the passage of the greater part of Friuli in 1866 to the newly built Italian state to the outbreak of World War I in 1914.
- 3) The period between the wars
- 4) The emigration after the conclusion of World War II (35).

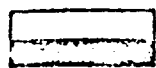
1) The statistical sources about the origins of the emigration are obviously inadequate and one has to rely on the indication that can be obtained from various documentary sources. All these sources seem to agree in indicating ^{that} the populations of Carnia (the mountaneous part of Friuli) were given to temporary emigration since the second half of the XVI century. This emigration was especially directed to Austria and Bavaria. The phenomenon grew during the second half of the eighteenth century for various reasons: demographic pressure, growing request of manpower in the Austrian territories and the worsening of the economic conditions in the Republic of Venice, under which rule a great part of Friuli was subjected at that time.

The Friulian emigration continued to grow with the passage of Venetian Friuli under the Austrian rule in 1797, since the mentioned determinants of the emigration were still at work.

What was added: the emigration movement, with the shifting of the borders, became a movement internal to the Imperial territory. Emigration was always of a seasonal, or temporary type, the destinations being the traditional ones: Austria, Hungary, Bavaria

2) With the annexation of Friuli to Italy we enter another phase in Friulian emigration. The phenomenon grew greatly, the trans-oceanic emigration starts and becomes more and more frequent and, most important for us, the statistics on the phenomenon start to present a certain degree of reliability.

Surveys are made of the emigration movement on the base of the passports issued. This method, though imperfect, permits us to have pictures of the reality, sufficiently precise for the scope of the present research. We have, for example, for 1876 the situation that can be seen in Fig.18 here below, where the figures for the proper emigration are probably under estimated.

 emigrazione propria
emigrazione temporanea

Austria Ungheria	137	11331
Germania		5489
Algeria	283	
Svizzera	276	
Russia	155	
Francia	99	
GreciaTurchia e Levante	59	
Egitto	17	
Belgio e Olanda	15	
Nord-Sud America	2	8

Fig.18 Emigrants from the Province of Udine in 1876

Source: G.VALUSSI, op. cit., p. 864.

From this date on the phenomenon gains more strength. The large scale transoceanic emigrations, to the two Americas do, in fact, start. These are definitive emigrations in most cases. The Friulian settlers go and establish large colonies that still exist. The great part of the emigrants moved towards Argentina, Brazil

and Venezuela, while the first vanguards reach the United States and Canada.

The temporary emigration continues in the meanwhile to more especially to the Austro-hungarian countries and to Bavaria. But, with the entrance of Friuli in the Italian state, other western-european destinations which will become more and more important in the following periods, start to increase (cfr. Fig. 19).

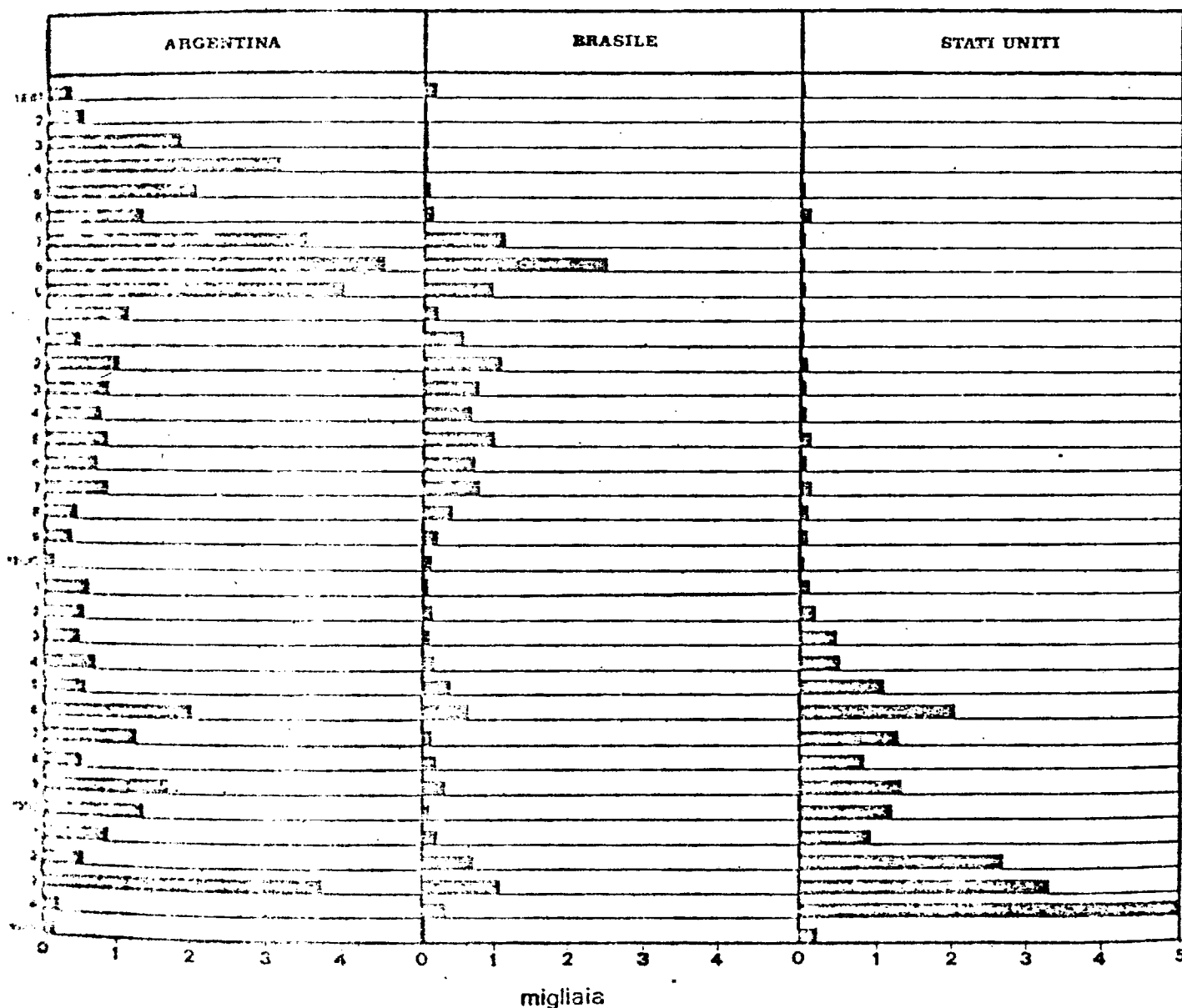


Fig. 19: Emigrants from the Province of Udine during the period 1881-1915
Source: G. VALCOSI, op. cit., p. 872.

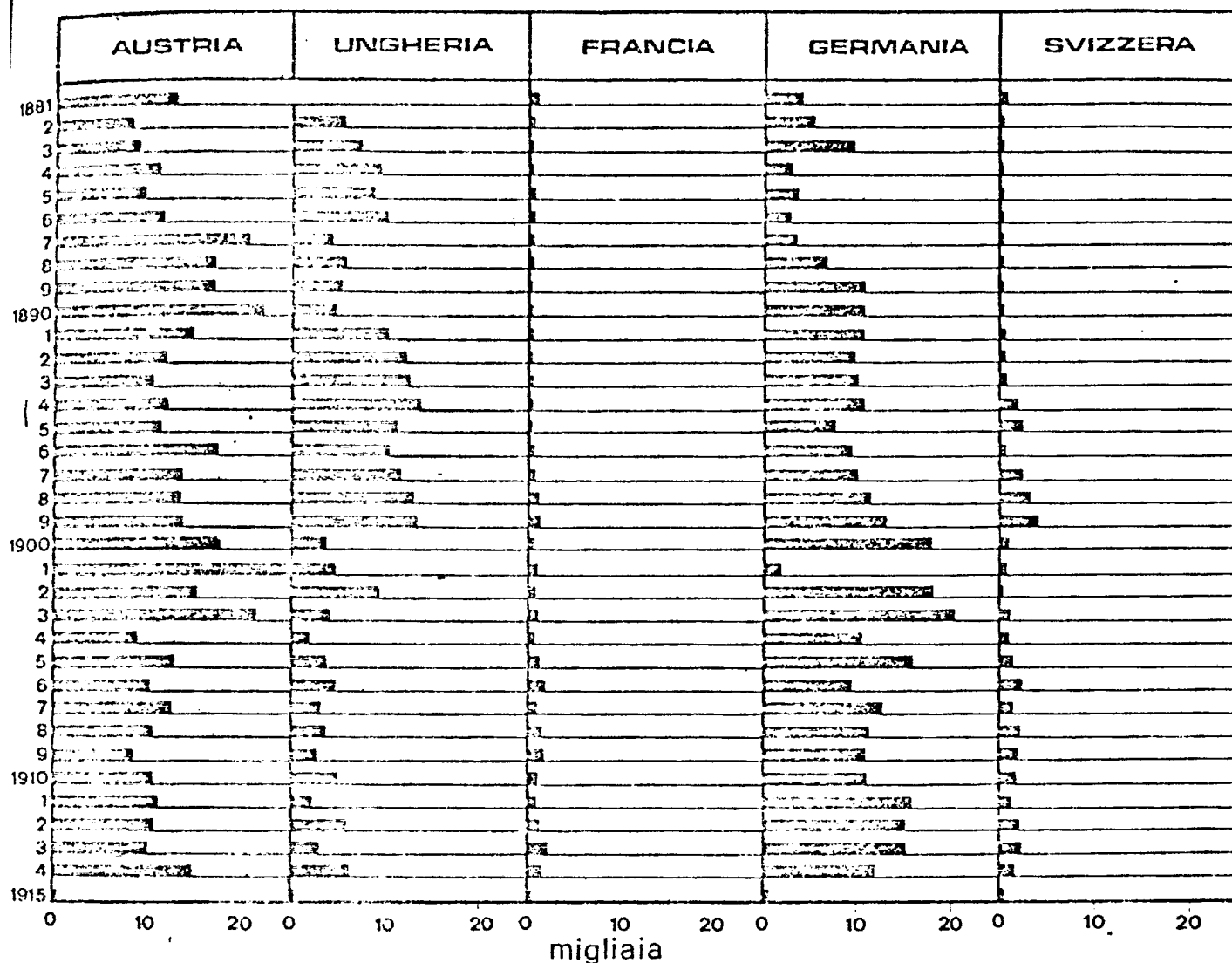


Fig.19 -(continued)

An even more precise indication can be obtained from the statistics of the 1911 census that, for the percentage distribution of the emigrants to the major destinations, gives the following results: Germany (42.0%), Austria (34.0%), Hungary (6.6%), Switzerland (3.1%), Balkan States (3.1%), Argentina (2.5%), United States (2.5%), Canada (2.0%) and France (1.5%).

3) The period between the wars is characterized by a first stage during which the emigration is massive, followed by a stage of contraction, due to the economic world crisis (1929-1933) that created millions of unemployed.

During the expansive stage of the emigration the major destinations were France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Also the emigration to Switzerland, which was having a period of great economic development, was quite frequent. The emigration to Canada, ^{the} United States and Argentina continues to be important, while the first Friulian emigrants start to leave Friuli, destined for Australia. Australia becomes very important as a pole of attraction for the emigrants only after the conclusion of World War II (cfr. Fig. 20).

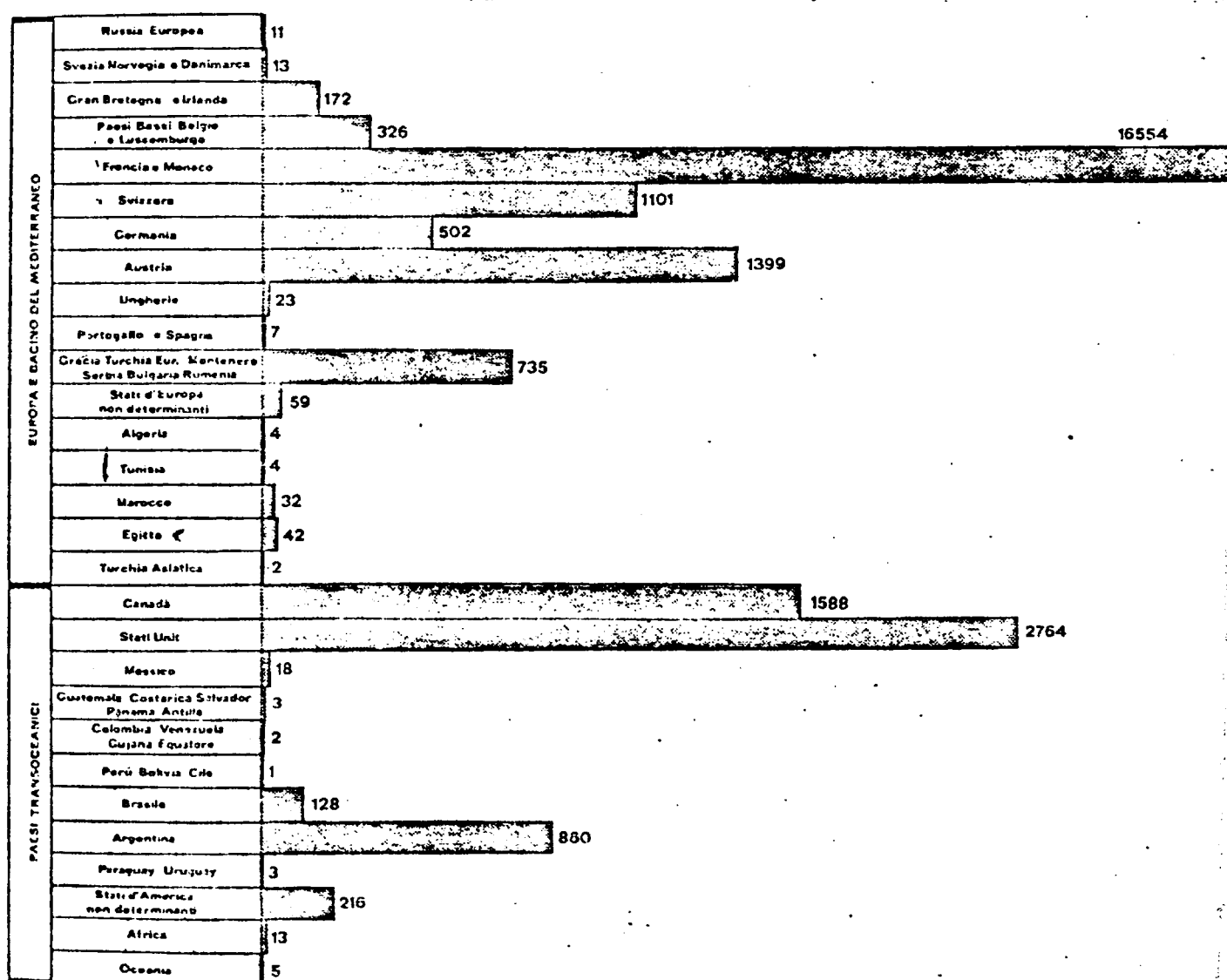


Fig.20: Emigrants from the province of Udine in 1920.

Source: G.VALUSSI, op. cit., p. 878.

4) Also in the second post-war period the old motives that pushed the Friulian workers to emigrate resume their strength. Among these motives, besides the heavy situation of delay in the economic development of the region, the renewed call from the western countries, like Switzerland, that were not directly engaged in the conflict, but were continuing on in their growing economic development. In fact, the guide-lines that have been singled out for the first post-war period are here confirmed.

The transoceanic emigration, continues to be strong towards those countries, like Australia and Canada, that adopted a policy of incentives for emigration to strengthen their demographic and economic structures (cfr. tab. 2).

Paesi di destinazione	Udine Emigrati in	Gorizia Emigrati in	Trieste Emigrati in	Friuli-Venezia Giulia Emigrati in	% del totale
Paesi Bassi	136	15	43	194	0,2
Rep. Federale Tedesca	14.214	655	634	15.503	13,7
Belgio	1.856	30	27	1.913	1,7
Lussemburgo	9.641	8	26	9.675	8,5
Francia	16.148	75	127	16.350	14,4
Regno Unito	809	111	140	1.060	0,9
Svizzera	51.453	1.111	825	53.389	47,2
Altri Paesi	1.926	120	226	2.272	2,0
Totale Paesi europei	96.183	2.125	2.048	100.356	88,7
Totale Africa	471	103	174	748	0,7
Canada	3.734	98	820	4.652	4,1
U.S.A.	670	123	549	1.342	1,2
Venezuela	504	17	53	574	0,5
Brasile	115	39	43	202	0,2
Argentina	191	16	51	258	0,2
Altri Paesi	42	8	33	83	0,1
Totale America	5.256	301	1.554	7.111	6,2
Totale Asia	45	4	19	68	0,1
Totale Oceania	2.549	322	1.923	4.794	4,2
Totale Paesi extraeuropei	8.321	1.730	3.670	12.721	11,2
TOTALE	104.504	2.855	5.718	113.077	100,0

Fonte: ISTAT, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e dell'Emigrazione.

Tab. 2 Emigrants from Friuli-Venetia Julia during the period 1959-1967.
Source: G. VALUSSI, op. cit., p. 909.

3.3.4. Political and economic structures of the area

It has already been said that we will consider here as "structural" only those arrangements that involve, as actors, institutions and organizations of a level higher than the regional (intra-national) one.

Another distinction will be made between those structural arrangements that have already passed into the broader realm of the "historical background" and those that have a more direct impact on the events that are studied in the present research. The borderline between the two categories is not very sharp and of course, cannot be fixed, once and for all. There are structural arrangements that very rapidly lose their impact on the present events and others that exert "influence" for a longer period of time.

At any rate we will consider here only those arrangements, that are contemporaneous, or immediately preceeding, the events of the Data Bank: approximately those arrangements that followed the conclusion of World War II. A closer look will be given to those arrangements that have a particular relevance for the Transfrontier Region Alpe-Adria, since a large part of the events are of a transfrontier character.

3.3.4.1. The international alliances

Italy belongs to NATO since its constitution as a military alliance in 1949. Friuli-Venetia Julia, in particular, is a crucial area in the defense system of the alliance. It hosts on its territory an important NATO/USA nuclear air base in Aviano (province of Fordenone), to some early warning electronic stations and, allegedly, to nuclear mines placed in the Karst plateau.

Neighbouring Yugoslavia, a member of the socialist camp, is a country that tries to find its way in its politics of non-alignment, between the threatening Oriental Block and the economically necessary openings to the West.

Austria too is a non-aligned country and underlines this role^{by} proposing itself as a bridge between West and East and hosting several international organizations.

3.3.4.2. The statutes of the transfrontier partners

The partners of the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region enjoy different statutes inside their respective nation-states. The different statutes have an influence on the degrees of autonomy that the actors can have on international matters.

The most autonomous are the two Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia: Yugoslavia is a federal state. In a more intermediate place can be classified the two Austrian Länder of Carinthia and Styria. Those two Länder are very active partners in the transfrontier relations.

The region Friuli-Venetia Julia is probably the partner more dependent on its "center" though it obtained a special statute in 1963, thus fulfilling one of the agreements of the Peace Treaty of 1947. The status of Autonomous region does not give the territory any particular power in dealing with international relations. Notwithstanding, the region almost immediately started a series of contacts with the neighbouring regions on questions of mutual interest. The region has presently an office for external relations.

3.3.4.3. The creation of the EEC

The creation of the European Community in 1958 is important for the interpretation of the data of the present research for two reasons. Firstly, because the Community Organisms are themselves

active in transnational relations with Friulian actors. Secondly, the European agreement led to a general increase in the bilateral interactions between the member states.

Italy is a founding member of the EEC. Yugoslavia does not belong to the European Community, but signed with it commercial agreements in 1970, 1973 and 1980. In 1972 Austria too signed some economic agreements with the European Communities. These agreements foresee the gradual creation of a zone of free trade for industrial products.

3.3.4.4. Bilateral agreements

"The region Friuli-Venetia Julia is strictly linked to the geo-economic and cultural complex made up of the territories of Slovenia and Carinthia so that, both the lines of development of the EEC, and the new tendencies in the East, have here a particular importance" (36).

Before examining the bilateral arrangements reached between Italy and Yugoslavia, and Italy and Austria, let us remind ourselves here that all the three countries are members of GATT. Italy is one of the founding members, Austria entered in the GATT system in 1951, while Yugoslavia reached the full membership in 1966. This implies that in their commercial relations all the principles of the western economic system apply: the clause of the most favourite country, the prohibition of dumping and tariff liberalizations. The complete list of agreements concluded between Italy and Yugoslavia would be very long. Let us remind some of , the most important ones:

- 1) The Udine Agreement on transfrontier traffic of 1955
- 2) The Alpe-Adria Fair that started in 1962
- 3) The Commercial Agreement of 1967
- 4) The Fishing Agreement in the Adriatic Sea of 1973
- 5) The Daisio Agreement of 1975.

We do not need here to go into the details of the various agreements. As a witness of their importance some figures can be cited: between 1967 and 1974 the Italian-Yugoslav interexchange in monetary terms increased three times (from 288 to 857 billion lire). During the same period the railway traffic of goods more than doubled (from 1.620.000 to 3.254.000 tons) (37).

Among the most important aspects of the economic cooperation with Yugoslavia are the "joint ventures". Italy is the first partner of Yugoslavia having signed 77 contracts of industrial cooperation and 27 contracts of common investment (8 contracts of cooperation have been signed with industries of Friuli-Venetia Julia) (38).

The Alpe-Adria Fair plays also an important role in promoting and stimulating initiatives for long term cooperation in the commercial and technic-industrial fields.

The Osimo Agreement, ^{should} also to be briefly mentioned here. It is quite recent, having been signed in 1975, and its full impact on the bilateral relations will develop completely only in the future, especially when (and if) the most important provision of the Agreement; the Industrial Free Zone that should be realized across the border, will be actuated. This project has been fiercely opposed by many political forces in Trieste and there is now a shared agreement that, at least, its location should be moved from the Karst plateau over Trieste to the border in the province of Gorizia.

As to the exchanges between Italy and Austria, we have already seen that their economic transactions are regulated by the standard rules adopted by the western economies after the conclusion of World War II.

In particular for the relations between Friuli-Venetia Julia and Carinthia, one aspect that these two regions have in common, must be underlined: that is the marginality of their position in

the respective national economies. The geo-political situation renders the two regions very important nodes of through traffic. This implies at the same time competition and need for cooperation to integrate the communication systems. Another similar aspect we find is the co-presence, at the top of the Adriatic Sea of the two ports of Trieste and Rijeka. Here again the competitive situation can be restructured in a situation of cooperation and integration of the services offered, with the possibility of mutual benefits.

This situation of competition and cooperation leads anyway to the need of frequent meetings that take place at the various levels of the regional/local authorities. In the words of one scholar of the economic cooperation in the area: "The political-economic powers of the Alps-Adria Regions have accepted the great challenge to transform the border regions in a unitarian economic zone. This is confirmed by the irreversible commitments both of the various mixed governmental commissions and of the numerous "Kontaktkomitee" formed by the Chambers of Commerce for the spatial planning, the foreign exchange, the tourism, the communications, the industrial cooperation" (39).

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 - contiguità conflittuale ("area di conflitto geopoliticamente limitata", in cui possono essere inclusi stati estranei alla zona geografica dove si manifesta il conflitto, ed essere viceversa esclusi Stati situati nella zona);
 - contiguità di comunicazione, nei due sensi che ha questo termine;
 - contiguità etniche;
 - contiguità di strutture socio-economiche;
 - contiguità di contatti e transazioni;
 - contiguità di comportamenti politici internazionalmente rilevanti (blocchi);
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CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

THE TRENDS/ TRANSNATIONAL EVENTS NETWORK DATA SET

4. Methodology of the research (the TRENDS/ Transnational Events Network - Data Set)

4.1. Introduction

Let us recall that the general aim of the research is to draw a clear and complete picture of the interactions of Friuli-Venetia Julia with the rest of the world, during the last 20 years.

The instrument that has been realized to allow the building of this map is the TRENDS project (Transnational Events Network - Data Set). The nature of the research and of the instrument used seem to restrict the possibility of analysis to descriptive purposes. But the analysis of the findings of the research and their linkage with the previously examined background variables, will permit the formulation of a number of generalizations.

These will need a lot of more investigation work and comparison with other cases before they can be considered well founded.

There are some aspects of transnational relations that cannot even be described by means of the data bank. The source of data, for the data bank, is the newspapers, and the newspapers report the manifest aspects of the transnational relations.

We can say nothing using this source, about the secret diplomatic and political processes. Nevertheless, we can say that most, if not all, of these secret processes belong to the realm of international relations between states. Transnational relations occur between states and regions, which, by definition, should have solved all the crucial problems that prevent people from living together peacefully; We could say that transnational relations occur when, and if, the central power has given the "nihil obstat" to the initiatives of the transnational actors. If this is true in general, it can be affirmed that a marginal transnational activity persist even between two conflicting actors; the activity of infiltrated refugee

agents can be given as an example.

Apart from the secret processes that do not appear on the pages of the newspapers there are some other aspects that, in order to be studied, need other sources of information to be used. All the "routine" transactions, such as: import-export of goods, the international labour-market (movement of emigrants and transfrontier workers), movement of persons and vehicles at the frontiers, tourist-movement, foreign student exchange, ... activity of the religious missions and the like, can be studied examining alternative sources. Most of the time we need to go through statistics (aggregate data) produced by the same institutions or organizations that promote activities of this kind. Such transactions have been however left out of this study, for the reasons examined above (1).

With the sources examined here, we can understand ^{happening} possibly all that is . But we don't know why or how it happens. This can be ascertained, apart from the study of the structural variables, by means of interviews with the actors of the transnational relations. This implies a certain number of visits to these institutions to speak to people involved in the transnational activities of the institutions they belong to. The main questions would concern the degree of involvement of the institution in transnational interactions (how many people for how many hours a week, how many direct or indirect contacts - communications, persons going abroad or visits of foreign actors), ^{also} how the institution is internally structured to cope with its transnational role, and so on.

The data bank will be anyhow very useful in indicating what are, among the possible institutions involved in transnational relations, the most active and promising ones from the point of view of the research. One ^(easily accessible) extra source of information on transnational relations, seems to be the phone directory. A quick examination of certain items in the "Yellow Pages" of selected years will reveal an increase or decrease of

transnational actors. We can not know with which states, in what directions these actors are active, unless we send a postal questionnaire with a short set of questions, but we could divide these actors by their location to see if in certain cities (as can be expected) any specialized role emerges. We have examined the weakness of the data bank in the study of transnational relations of a region. Let us take a look now at what such a data bank can give us.

The source of data for the bank is local newspapers, which find their "raison d'être" in the fact that they report, possibly faithfully and entirely, all the events that affect the area of their reach.

The sources need to be compared because there can be distortions due to the political alignment of the newspapers considered; but it seems reasonable to say that, while the evaluation of the events might differ from one source to the other, no newspaper can ignore at least the significant events.

Most of the variables of the data bank are of the nominal type and this induces severe limitations in the statistical analyses that can be done. Notwithstanding, as long as the main purpose of the research is descriptive the limitations can be considered acceptable.

Some more specific methodological problems that arose in building the data bank, whose contents will be used in the present research, will be presented here below: additional remarks will be made when presenting the variables.

4.2. The source

The Transnational Events Network - Data Set has been built using as its source the local newspaper "Messaggero Veneto". All the events identified as transnational and involving an actor that at

least could be geographically located in Friuli-Venetia Julia, were registered on a descriptive form, then coded and punched on cards for computer processing.

The choice of the source has been a severe methodological problem for most of the known data banks on international events. For banks of this kind the problem arises from the fact that most of them try to record global data for interactions that occur all over the world. Several sources exist for this kind of data, which could almost be used instead. The following for example can be cited: Deadline data, Kissinger Contemporary Archives, Facts on File, New York Time Index, etc. These sources, nevertheless, are in general biased towards the anglo-american world. All, or almost all the records have as actors, the U.S.A. or the U.K. and describe what happens there. The contribution to international interaction of other units is thus underestimated.

The builders of these banks have tried to solve the problem using two strategies. Some projects have been tried to compare the total volume of events or the distribution of types of events among more than one source, and tried to take a selection. We can see how successful this is from this passage of P.M. Burgess and R.W. Lawton: "Because the volume and composition of the universe of foreign policy actions is unknown, no authoritative criteria exist beyond the specific needs of the individual analyst by which to judge one source superior to another: hence, the estimation of error is ultimately dependent on the theoretical structures that the analyst brings to the task" (2).

In some other projects the sources employed are more than one. This is especially true for data banks on interactions in some selected areas, most of the time the Middle East (Middle East Cooperation and Conflict Analysis, MECCA, Middle East Project, etc.) (3). In these cases more than one source has to be used, although it seems to have been a rather costly demand, because the global sources, as already said, are not accurate enough to local (not

directly anglo-american) events and the local sources are not independent; each of them reports only part of the "truth".

In the case of the present research severe difficulties did not arise. The source of ^{the} data is a regional one, and it is in fact the transnational activity of a region that has to be ascertained.

Time and budgetary limits impede, for the moment, the possibility of using more, mutually integrated, sources. Alternative sources are indeed available, but each of them presents some problems, so that the choice was to use, at least for the moment, the "Messaggero Veneto" which covers all the region with the provincial pages for ^{the} entire time span (1957-1977) of the research. "Il Piccolo" seemed to be too biased towards what happens in Trieste. "Il Gazzettino" of Venice was excluded because, while featuring local pages for all the provinces of the region, it has its central editorial office outside it.

A local newspaper (Primorski Dnevnik) issued by the Slovene ethnic minority also exists, but it is too biased in its reporting, quite accurately, even the minimal events that involve the Slovenes of both sides of the Italy-Yugoslavia border (transfrontier interactions that are mostly of the "komoethnic" type (4)).

The choice however, was not so crucial in the case of the present research because the most important goal was to show what are the changes across time, more than the absolute figures for a single year. Another strategy employed in reducing the single source disadvantage has been that of raising the standards for allowing a piece of news to be considered an event (5).

A local newspaper cannot ignore the important facts of the regional life without losing part of its function.

4.3. Identification of the event

A problem exists in identifying, i.e. separating, a single event from a series of similar events. To discuss this point it is useful to cite here another definition of event, given by E.E.Azar: "We maintain that an event has five components: actor, target, activity, issue-area, and time. All of these components must exist within the source if an event is to be identified. A discrete event exist only when at least one of the above components is different from one event to the other" (4).

The presence of the variables (components) cited by the author is considered also in "TRENDS" as "conditio sine qua non" for an event to be recorded. It has also been decided accordingly to consider the modification of at least one of the "crucial" variables as an indicator of the presence of another discrete event. This strategy is very useful in solving the problems created by some events of mixed nature that are difficult to code. We can code as two separate events, for example, a ceremonial meeting where political speeches are followed by a sports game between representatives of two twin-cities.. This is useful also in solving the problem, explained below, of the "weighting" of the event.

4.4. Weighting of the events

In all known data banks, one of the worst problems to be solved was to give some weight to events that are sometimes very different in their reach, in their "historical" importance, and in the number and amount of resources employed by the actors. Here resources is used "latu sensu" meaning not only material, economic, financial resources, but also time, political currency, prestige, etc.).

The first thing that can be done in trying to level (to make more comparable) the events, is of course, to exclude from codification "routine events", which were here defined as transactions. The transactions can be neatly cut out only when we have a clear, operational

definition of both events and transactions.

As indicated above, another strategy is that of multiplying the events in the presence of a modification in one of the variables that we consider crucial.

A quite useful indicator of the relevance of an event can also be supplied by the number of the participant actors, or by the relevance attributed by the newspaper to the event, measured in terms of space devoted to it.

We have to remind ^{ourselves} that, when dealing with transnational relations, we do not expect to find together events of very different magnitude, such as a Marshall plan together with an agreement for the export of a limited quantity of meat.

4.5. Codification of the actors

Other problems arose when coding the actors involved in the event interactions. When we deal with international relations the actors are always nation-states and when we say Italy, the actor is fully identified. We will sometimes have a specification of who really acts on behalf of the state and this is done through the introduction of another variable: the organ of the actor. Thus in an interaction we will have a Prime Minister (organ) of a given state (actor) who has a meeting, visits a foreign country, and so on. . It is clear that the nation-state is an actor only in a metaphorical sense, but this is a convention that does not create any problem, because we know from the variable organ who really acts. Nor are there big problems with introducing the international organizations into the analysis. Here we do not have

"geographical metaphor" that acts, because, the international organizations are actors in a functional sense. Here again, when we want to know who really acts, we need to specify who is the organ of the actor. The secretary of the United Nations (organ) speaks and visits a country on behalf of the U N (actor).

When dealing with transnational interactions the problem of the identification of the actor is made worse because many other actors, who do not have a strong geographical identity, are present. To make it more clear: C.Alger speaks of the "impact of cities on international system" (7). But the cities do not really act; they are the seat of institutions, organizations, individuals that perform transnational roles, happen to reside in cities and sometimes represent the city government. The cities thus act only "latu sensu", and not always as such. Following, is a list provided by S.R.Saunders of the ways in which a city can act:

"It may be useful in conceptualizing cities as units of analysis in international relations to posit a number of possible approaches that have or could be taken by the authors:

- 1) Cities as intentional and autonomous actors
- 2) Cities as nodes in international networks, providing services that link people and institutions globally
- 3) Cities as producers and diffusers of culture (...)
- 4) Cities as international headquarters (...)
- 5) Cities as indirect participators in the international system through international organizations of cities such as the European Council of local authorities
- 6) Cities as milieus that impact national governments or other elites (...)
- 7) Cities as city-states or actors in their own right and not as part of national system (...)
- 8) Cities as border-cities: local administrations whose activities and whose very locations overlap national boundaries (...)" (8).

We can accept the metaphor that the cities are actors when we are under the points 1), 7), 8) of the above list, and in this case we may identify those who really act by looking for the organ of the city government that initiated or was the target of the transaction. But when we consider, for example, the cities as producers and diffusers of culture we can hardly say that a folklore group acts as an organ of the city.

In order to avoid the ambiguity of having actors with a strong geographical identity, and actors whose functional character is pre-eminent it has been decided to use two variables to fully identify an actor: one indicates the actor according to its functional role and the second specifies its territorial location. A third variable has been added to indicate, whenever it was the case, the ethnic character of the actor.

4.6. Identification of the underlying dimensions

A lot of effort^{has} been directed, by the builders of data banks, to the goal of creating some ordinal or, better, interval scales to place the events on a "continuum", implying an underlying dimension. Most of the time this dimension was the "cooperative-conflictual dimension" (9). But in the interactions of transnational type the conflictuality seems to be rarely present almost by definition, and, if we accept this last proposition, a scale constructed along this dimension would be too biased towards the cooperative side. We may avoid this difficulty by substituting the conflictual end, choosing for example a "cooperative-competitive dimension". But it is quite difficult also to place the events in this last "continuum", because almost all the events seem to have, at the same time, some cooperative and some competitive characteristics. It seems very difficult to identify the "ideal-type" of a purely cooperative or purely competitive event and, in this way, we run the risk of not even being able to provide our scale with the two extremes.

The point put forward in the preceeding lines needs to be briefly specified. The impression could be achieved, that it is maintained that conflictuality is not present in the peripheries. This, we know, is not true at all. We could think, for example, of what happened in Trieste in opposition to the Osimo Agreements between Italy and Yugoslavia. There were many reactions to it (even

a local political party was created to organize the opposition); these could be interpreted as manifestations of conflictuality towards the Italian Government and, at the same time, towards Yugoslavia. The point is that all these manifestations were unilateral; they happened in Trieste without, at least a manifest, participation of actors of the other side of the border. A target, direct or indirect, could be singled out, but the event-interactions, in this case, lacks the interactive situation.

It could be objected that there was, anyway, a movement across the borders of objects, if not tangible, at least intangible (information). In fact other international relations data-banks also take into account events of this kind (10); the option of the present research has been to exclude them. This has been done, because of the practical problems that would arise in trying to identify this kind of event at the source; for example, in every speech of a local political leader there may be references to foreign issues.

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CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH DATA

5. Analysis of the research data

The research data will be presented here together with the principal findings. The variables employed have been grouped, starting from those that describe the source and the time dimension, followed by those that describe the features of the events and of the actors. The two last sections are devoted to describe in particular the transfrontier and the multilateral interactions. This general outline, used in commenting^{on} the data, has been followed as faithfully as possible, but the reality can hardly be forced into schemes so that, especially when crosscutting variables are introduced in the discussion, certain aspects are sometimes anticipated and, later, re-taken into consideration. The matter of transfrontier interactions, for example, which are treated in a particular section, have already been quoted to make comparisons with the simple transnational interactions. Also certain explanatory comments will be quoted, and will be treated in more detail in the concluding chapter.

5.1. The years in the file and the variable sequence

The years selected to be included in the file have been one year out of three starting from 1957. The last year completely available at the time of the survey was 1977 and thus the last interval could not be respected. 1976 has been added to the file to include the "year of the two earthquakes", which we consider a test year in particular to verify what was the influence of the pre-established interaction networks on the international relief activity following the disaster. Hence the time span of the research is 21 years, which seems to be a sufficiently long period of time to grasp the most fundamental changes and developments occurred. It has to

be underlined, however, that the gaps between the years are not filled at the present stage of development of the data bank, and therefore do not permit us to make real time-series analyses. So, this has to be considered a mere longitudinal study with all the limitations implied. The most fundamental limitation is that we cannot infer anything from the data about the short term variations, only the most evident and less ambiguous trends will be, in fact, noted and commented.

The total number of events recorded, has a huge increase during the period of time considered with a peak in 1969 (cfr. tab. 9). That could have been considered a roof, but the data regarding the last two years in the file show another increase. We can try to assess the reasons by looking at the variable sequence that has been introduced in the file to give us a tool that easily identifies and selects certain events related to particular issues, that can be separately analyzed. One of the sequences employed, identifies the events related to the international relief activity on the occasion of the two earthquakes that ^{struck} Friuli in 1976. As a first remark it can be seen that this kind of event accounts only partially for the general increase in the number of events for the last two years in the file. We should, anyway, add to the events directly related to the earthquake, a certain amount of events induced as a side-effect of the increased attention of various actors on the "Friuli case". This would further decrease the number of events in the "normal" pattern, and we could accept the hypothesis that since around 1969 a kind of roof in the potentialities of interaction of Friuli-Venetia Julia was reached.

Another item of the variable "sequence" attaches the label of "transfrontier interactions" to those that involve at least one partner of the Alpe-Adria region in interaction with Friuli-Venetia Julia (the others being Slovenia, Croatia, Carinthia and

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	78	77	Tot										
No Sequence	159	85.4	263	82.4	310	78.3	359	69.0	395	64.9	367	65.7	383	67.1	478	46.8	487	57.7	3201	63.8
Twin Towns	0	0	11	3.4	11	2.8	26	5.0	16	2.6	15	2.7	17	3.0	6	.6	11	1.3	113	2.3
Transfrontier	22	12.0	40	12.5	58	17.2	129	24.8	178	29.2	161	29.3	159	27.8	214	21.0	223	26.4	1194	23.8
Europe	3	1.6	5	1.6	7	1.8	6	1.2	20	3.3	7	1.3	12	2.1	3	.3	13	1.5	76	1.5
Earthquake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	229	22.4	83	9.8	312	6.2
Osimo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	.3	1	.1	4	.1
Trans - quake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71	7.0	26	3.1	97	1.9
Euro - quake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	1.5	-	-	15	.3
Twin - quake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.2	-	-	2	-
Tot.	184	3.7	319	6.4	396	7.9	520	10.4	609	12.1	550	11.0	571	11.4	1021	20.4	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Tab. 3 - Sequence by year.

Styria). Events of this kind increase from 12 to 29 as a percentage of the total. This fact can be easily explained mainly by the opening of the frontiers with Yugoslavia in 1955 and the subsequent process of re-connection of relations that had been interrupted. This process seems to have reached stability in 1969 since, from that year, the percentages remain virtually constant.

Another sequence of events refers to interactions that can be directly connected to the process of European unification or are enacted by a Friulian actor in relation to any of the official European institutions. There are very few events of this kind until 1969 when there is a substantial increase, which might be connected with the reorganization of the foreign-relations of the Friuli-Venetia Julia Region relating to the creation of a special office. After this peak, the level of interaction ebbs again, rising in 1975 and especially in 1976 with the intervention of the European Community in relief activities. In 1977 the level of interaction with the European Community remains sufficiently high to reveal a discernable established pattern of communication between the whole and one component unit in a "Europe of the Regions" perspective.

Another item has been introduced in the variable sequence to follow the phenomenon of the twin-towns exchange. In Friuli-Venetia Julia there are quite a few towns that have been twinned with other towns in Europe. This phenomenon reaches its peak, in our data, in 1966 and after that period a certain slow-down can be noted, justified in the last few years, by the disturbing effects of the earthquakes on the normal pattern of interaction.

The town-twinning movement has also lost, during these last few years, part of its vitality or, at least, exhausted the greatest part of its potential. The last events recorded are almost exclusively a follow up to the town-twinning of the past.

The last item of the variable sequence is one that might be more interesting in the future, in the case of a political will to enact the "Accordo di Osimo" signed in 1975. The very few

events recorded up to 1977 reveal that there have been many discussions indeed, on the two sides of the border, about the "accordo" and its possible consequences, but all these discussions remained confined to either of the two sides without a mutual involvement and confrontation of opinions at a bilateral level, apart from the few meetings of the official mixed commissions.

The events related to most of the sequences considered in the file are too few ^{to} allow a more thorough statistical analysis of the data. The same cannot be said for the transfrontier interactions that in many instances will be considered as a separate subset of events. They represent a particular reality that needs to be clearly understood as such and to be separate from the rest of the transnational interactions ^{in order} to enhance the comparability of the data of the TRENDS-data bank.

We must remember that Friuli-Venetia Julia is a border region, but this is not always the case when studying the transnational relations of a region. If Tuscany were to be the subject of our analysis we would be not confronted with transfrontier interactions and the same would be the case when comparing the findings of the present research with those emerging from the project that analysed the transnational relations of the city of Columbus, Ohio (1).

5.2. Variables describing the source and the time dimension

A set of variables has been introduced in the file to describe the formal characteristics of the article from which the event has been extracted. These variables are only briefly described here, because they will be more useful in the possible enlargement of the data bank. The variable source, for example,

at this stage only codes one digit, the "Messaggero Veneto" newspaper. More codes will be added when alternative sources will be introduced.

As the prominence of the article in the newspaper's

issue^{refers} to two variables have been introduced: one indicates the number of columns of the title of the article and the second the length of the article expressed in centimeters.

The figures for the variable columns are given below (cfr. tab. 4). An almost constant percentual decrease of the less prominent articles (one or two columns of width of the title), can be noted during this time.

This reveals a growing importance attributed by the source to the transnational events and/or an intrinsic growing of the reach and importance of the events coded. The finding that increasing space is dedicated, by the source, to transnational events is important as regards another question. We have found a growth in the average number of pages that compose a single newspaper's issue, which from 1957 to 1977, approximately doubled. A slightly more than proportional space given to advertising was, also found. The newspaper space available for news thus had a net growth. During the same period of time the number of events coded, increases approximately five times. From the foregoing it can be assumed that this last increase is not spurious: due to more space available in the newspaper for news, since this is compensated by the increase in the space devoted by the newspaper to the single transnational event.

We obtain similar results when examining the variable "centimeter length" of the article. We will not present figures for this variable, since another version, recoded in intervals, has been used in constructing the "index of prominence" which will be presented below.

Another variable has been introduced in the file to specify whether more, extra articles were dedicated by the source to comment on the same event. Three items have been used for this variable: one to indicate that one or two extra articles appeared, the second indicates that there were more than two extra articles, most of the time a series of follow up reports in the case of long lasting

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot										
1	60	43.5	133	41.1	145	36.6	193	35.2	205	33.7	169	30.7	176	30.6	316	31.0	239	28.3	1646	32.8
2	48	25.1	96	30.1	132	33.3	158	30.4	115	18.9	74	13.5	84	14.7	170	16.7	148	17.5	1025	20.4
3	48	25.0	61	19.1	94	23.7	121	23.3	165	27.1	172	31.3	170	29.8	276	27.0	277	32.8	1382	27.6
4	4	2.2	24	7.5	15	3.8	47	9.0	86	14.1	96	17.5	96	16.8	188	18.4	131	15.5	687	13.7
5	5	2.7	2	.6	6	1.5	6	1.2	33	5.4	32	5.8	35	6.1	56	5.5	30	3.6	2.5	4.1
6 or more	1	.5	3	.9	4	1.0	5	1.0	5	.8	7	1.3	10	1.8	15	1.5	19	2.3	69	1.4
Tot.	184	3.7	321	6.4	396	7.9	520	10.4	609	12.1	550	11.0	571	11.4	1021	20.4	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Tab.4 - Number of columns of the article by year

events, and a third code that indicates that no extra articles were found on the same source. The figures are given for the globality of the events coded in the file, since, this variable has been mainly used in constructing the "index of prominence".

One or two more articles	245	4,9
Follow up	54	1,1
No extra articles	4722	94,0
	<hr/> 5021	<hr/> 100,0%

Tab. 5 - More articles for a single event

Another variable for which no figures are presented here, was introduced to code the number of times that an event was announced by the source as "going to happen". This variable has been later neglected because in an overwhelming number of instances, this was only a mere advertising of cultural or sports events such as concerts, conferences and football games. The variable thus was not very interesting for analysis.

"The index of prominence" has been created by attributing a score to the event based on the number of columns and on the length of the article. Extra scores were attributed to those events that were present in the source with more articles. The figures are given, since the analysis will not be carried out in detail, for an aggregated version of this index with the articles simply being classified as having low or high prominence. It can be ascertained from the table that the trend is towards an increasing presence in the source of articles that have been classified as "high" in our index.

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.
LOW -HIGH	128 68.5	208 65.5	208 72.2	343 66.0	374 61.4	253 53.3	318 55.7	567 55.5	469 55.6	2985 59.5
	58 31.5	110 34.5	110 27.8	177 34.0	235 38.6	257 46.7	253 44.3	454 44.5	375 44.4	2029 40.5
Tot.	184 3.7	319 6.4	386 7.9	396 7.9	520 12.1	550 11.0	571 11.4	1021 20.4	844 16.8	5014 100.0

Tab. 6 - Index of prominence by year

The variable "type of page" is also present in the file. Its items are those presented in the following table (the item "city news" was originally disaggregated into the news from the four provinces that compose Friuli-Venetia Julia). As it can be seen, the overwhelming number of events were reported precisely in this type of page. All the other items are quite low. The item "regional news" provides however an increasing, across time, contribution.

City news	79,4%
Regional news	6,7%
Sports	6,1%
Spectacle	3,4%
Third page	0,4%
First and second page	1,1%
Other	3,0%

Tab. 7 - Type of page

Three variables are used to code the point in time when the event happened or started. The variable "day" is obviously important only as a means of distinguishing of an event, from others of a similar nature that can happen during the same month. It has been used to measure the impact on the total number of events that was produced by the relief activity on ^{the} occasion of the two earthquakes that struck Friuli in 1976. Events of this kind have been in fact extracted from the file and their distance from the catastrophic event measured by means of this variable in conjunction with the variable month. As it can be seen, events of this kind, while being

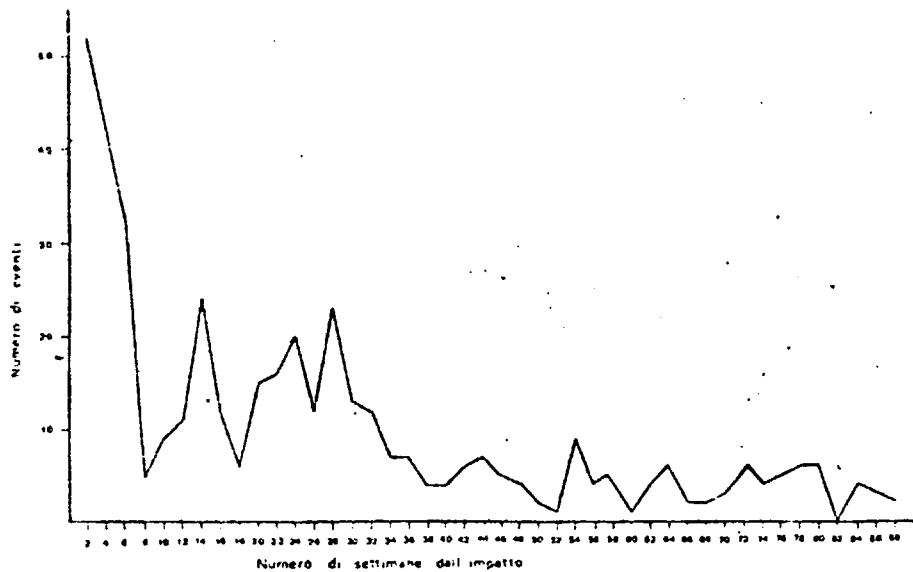


Fig. 21 - Number of events (weeks from the impact)
related to the earthquakes

still present . more than a year and a half after the impact, show a sudden decrease after the first weeks following the disaster. This is what is called, in the sociology of disasters literature, the relief phase (2). The downward trend is contrasted by the events relating to the succeeding phases of rehabilitation and reconstruction, to which the international and transnational actors also participated. The characteristic up and down trend is complicated by the presence of the other earthquake that struck Friuli approximately twenty weeks after the first disaster. This fact brought more relief activities and more events to the data bank (3).

The variable "month" is further, used below, in conjunction with the variable sector to describe the emerging seasonal patterns of activity. The variable "year" has already been presented to show the increase of events during the time span considered in the present stage of development of the data-bank. This variable will also be largely used later, in the cross-tabulation with the most important variables of the file.

The last variable used to describe the time dimension is the variable "duration" of the event. This variable is not apt for a deep analysis because its distribution is at all unbalanced. The item "few hours" is present in fact in approximately 80% of the events as it can be seen from the table below.

Few hours	3996	80,9%
Up to three days	523	10,6%
More than 3 days	422	8,5%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
tot.	4941	100,0%
Not applicable	73	-

Tab. 8 - Duration of the event

5.3. The events

A set of variables has been introduced in the file that describes the main features of the events collected from the pages of the *Messaggero Veneto*. Apart from the identification number of the event, which starts every new year from the digit 001; the marginals for all the other variables will be illustrated here below. The presentation of the findings will be preceded, whenever necessary, by a short description of the variable and of its items. In certain instances tables are presented that feature intersecting variables, these have been already presented or will be described immediately after.

5.3.1. Level of aggregation of the actors and number of participants

Deviding the events in the file by level of aggregation of the actors, we have the distribution shown in tab. 9. The variable has been ordered according to the criterion of increasing complexity of event (increasing mutual involvement of the actors). The uni-

Year	Unilate- rel (1)	Org./ inv. (2)	Bilate- ral (3)	Org./ particip. (4)	Multila- teral (5)	Bilateral (1+2+3)	Multila- teral (4+5)
1957	4 2,2	45 24,5	109 59,2	24 13,0	2 1,1	158 85,9	26 14,1
1960	14 4,4	114 35,7	152 47,6	29 9,1	10 3,1	280 87,8	39 12,2
1963	6 1,5	104 26,3	221 55,8	45 11,6	19 4,8	331 83,6	65 16,4
1966	13 2,5	109 21,0	318 61,2	49 9,4	31 6,0	440 84,6	80 15,4
1969	11 1,8	144 23,6	342 56,2	69 11,3	43 7,1	497 81,6	112 18,4
1972	11 2,0	129 23,5	289 52,5	79 14,4	42 7,6	429 78,0	121 22,0
1975	10 1,8	125 21,9	312 54,6	84 14,7	40 7,0	447 78,3	124 21,7
1976	14 1,4	143 14,0	730 71,5	76 7,4	58 5,7	887 86,9	134 13,1
1977	4 0,5	195 23,1	502 59,5	95 11,3	48 5,7	701 83,0	143 16,9
							184
							319
							396
							520
							609
							550
							571
							1021
							844

Tab. 9 - Level of aggregation of the actors by years

lateral events imply an indirect target of the action and the categories 2 and 4 are sub-species of the bilateral and multilateral events in the sense that, in both cases one actor carries on the role of organizer or promoter of the interaction.

As regards the unilateral events, those present in the file are only the minimal part, of all the messages that are exchanged almost daily between several actors, that emerge from the mass and become newsworthy. In the file they play a marginal role.

The ratio between pure bilateral and organizer/invited types of events remains almost constant during the period considered, while the ratio between multilateral and organizer/participants types of events shows an almost constant change in favour of the pure multilateral ones.

This trend towards an increase in the complexity of the aggregation of the actors can also be seen in the comparison between all types of bilateral interactions, on one side, and multilateral interactions, on the other side. With one exception: the activities related to international relief are of the bilateral type and this changes the ratio. In 1977, with the decrease of relief activities, the trend seems to go back to the normal pattern.

An interesting finding emerges by extracting from the file the transfrontier interactions. The "marginality" of the unilateral interactions is confirmed and the predominance of the pure bilateral events against those of the "organizer-invited" type is even accentuated. This reveals more purposefulness and mutual involvement in the transfrontier events because the events that fall under the heading "organizer-invited" are, most of the times, concerts and conferences, which are part of a kind of routine activity for certain cultural and musical organizations. Events of this kind, in a way, are not very interesting or revealing of integrative efforts by the actors involved. The abovementioned finding is also confirmed by the comparison between pure multilateral and "organizer-participants" events. Here the percentages are reversed, this last type of

events being marginal^{when} confronted with the totality of the trans-frontier events (cfr. tab.10).

	Unilateral	Organizer- invited	Bilateral	Organizer participants	Multi- lateral	
Transnational	66 1,8	959 25,8	2047 55,0	517 13,9	134 3,6	3723 74,3
Transfrontier	21 1,6	149 11,5	928 71,9	34 2,6	159 12,3	129 25,4
Tot.	87 1,7	1108 22,1	2975 59,3	551 11,0	293 5,8	5016 100,0

Tab. 10 - Transfrontier vs. rest of interactions by level of aggregation

One other confirmation of a trend towards an increasing complexity in the events recorded in the file can be obtained by looking at the number of participants. This variable differs^a little from the above examined level of aggregation because, also some actors who participated only marginally in the event were recorded in the file, when they were reported by the source. We can, in fact, have a bilateral event involving more actors^{from} the two sides. We have coded the higher level or^{the} more involved actors as actor 1 (the host) and actor 2 (the guest) and other actors up to eight as side participants.

A percentual increase in favour of the events involving three or more participants may be noticed (Cfr. tab.11).

The figures showing the total number of actors coded by year reveal an increase that is quasi-parallel to that of the events. There is, actually, a slow modification in the ratio actors/events that increases and then from 1972, stabilizes on an average of 2.4 actors per event. 1977 makes an exception that would need more

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	
Two participants	159	277	336	433	482	419	415	766	638	3925
%	86,4	86,8	84,8	83,3	79,1	76,2	72,7	75,0	75,6	78,3
Three or more	25	42	60	87	127	131	156	255	206	1089
%	13,6	13,2	15,2	16,7	20,9	23,8	27,3	25,0	24,4	21,7
Tot. events	184	319	396	520	609	550	571	1021	844	5014
Tot. actors	398	703	883	1198	1429	1331	1379	2460	1957	11738
Actors/Events ratio	2,16	2,20	2,23	2,30	2,35	2,42	2,41	2,41	2,32	2,34

Tab. 11 - Number of participants (actors) by year

, years in the file to be correctly appreciated.

5.3.2. Monthly patterns and sectors of activity

By looking at the distribution of the events during the year, a monthly pattern can be identified with May and September as the peaks of activity and, in general, Spring and Summer more favorable for transnational interactions than the rest of the year. This aspect is further accentuated in the case of the transfrontier events that remain above the average also in early Autumn with September and October, which account for 25% of the events of the year (expected value for the two months: 16,6%) (cfr. Fig. 22).

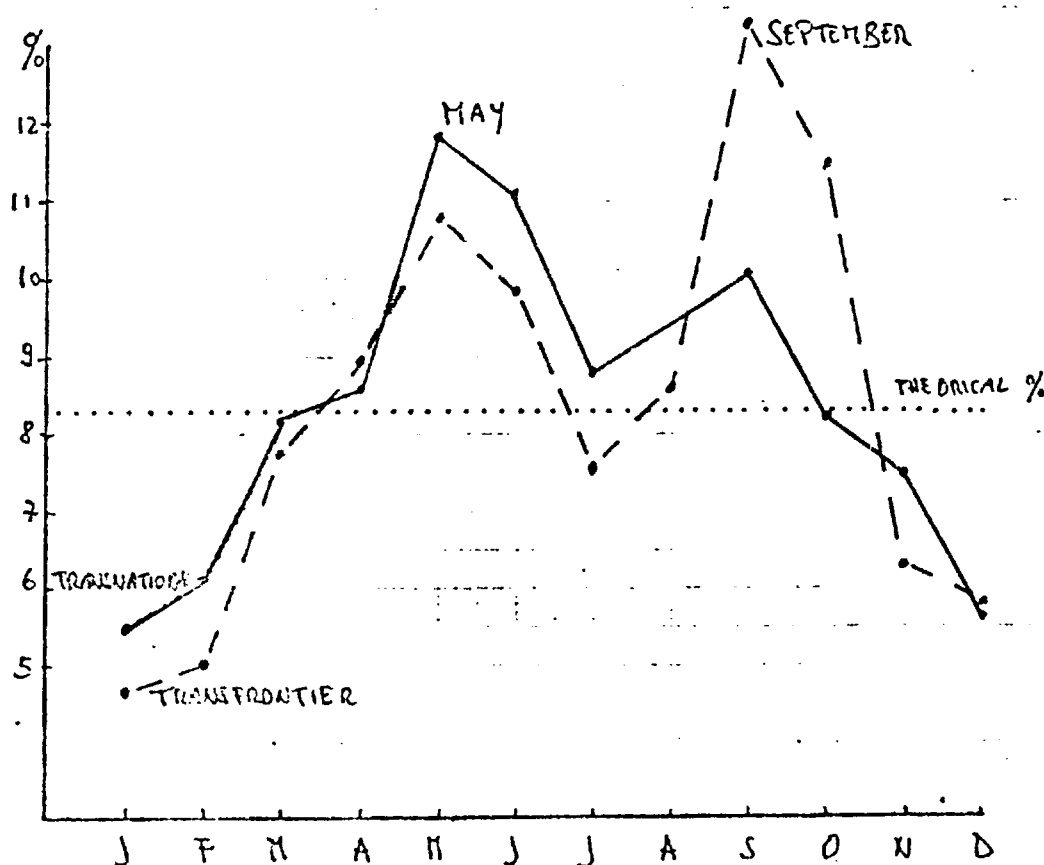


Fig. 22 - Total events by month by sequence (transnational/transfrontier)

The analysis of this variable is more interesting if we divide the events according ^{to} the sectors mainly involved in the interactions

From the graph it is evident that all the sectors follow the general pattern seen above with the exception of the cultural events whose distribution is unimodal with the peak of activity during Spring, and ^{without} very wide oscillations during the year. On the other side the economic sector shows the difference maximum ranging from 4% of the economic events of the year during the months of December and January, to 17% in July (Cfr. Fig.23).

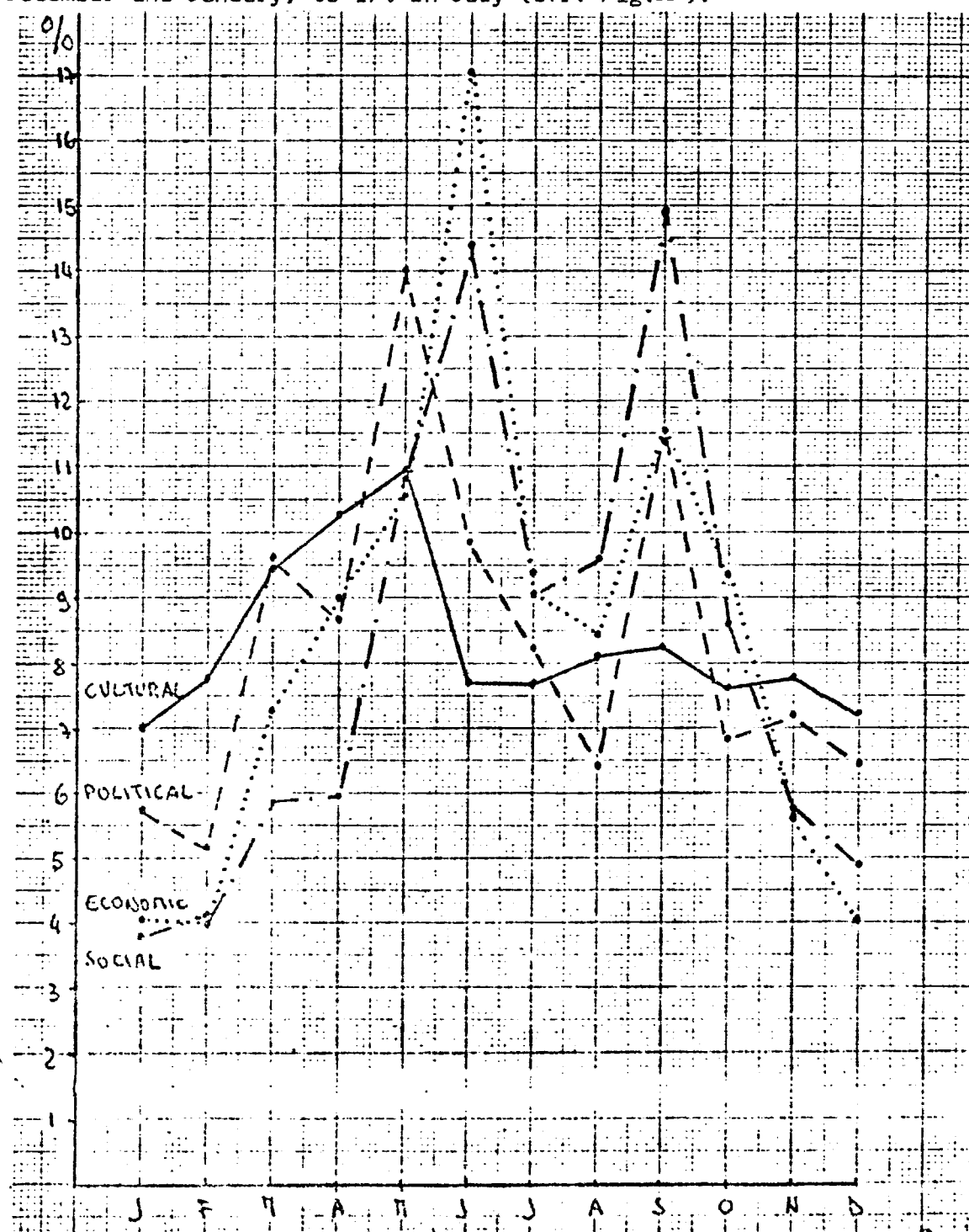


Fig. 23 - Total events by month by sector (percentages)

Let us analyse more closely the variable "sector" (for the description of the various items that make up this variables see the appendix ...). It has to be said here that, whenever possible, the code for this variable was attributed to the event on the basis of the "nature" of the event (i.e. on the basis of the agenda in the case of a meeting between representatives of two local communities). When this was not possible, the nature not being self evident or the agenda not known, the sector of major concern of the actors involved in the event was used to classify the event itself.

The time distribution of the variable "sector" shows an overall stability. The percentage differences of the various items per year are not statistically significant. Only one major exception emerges, that is the huge increase of the assistance-relief sector in 1976 due, of course, to the earthquakes and the related international relief activity. All the other items show a pattern that is quite parallel to the increase in the total number of events.

There are some small variations to the general pattern only for those items that have a relatively low occurrence and, in these cases, chance might play an important role. We could also notice a small, more than proportional, increase in the political events parallel to a decrease in the events involving the military sector (Cfr. Tab.12).

In a more aggregated version of the variable sector, the overall stability in the percentage distribution of the data during the time span considered, with the exception of 1976, is confirmed. During this year there is an increase of activity in all the four sectors with the social one growing more than proportionally. In 1977, with the slow return to the post-earthquake normality, we find the social events almost halved, the economic

	57	50	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.										
JUTURAL	76	41.3	125	33.2	153	33.9	169	32.5	201	33.0	186	33.8	195	34.2	251	24.6	273	32.3	1.609	32.1
RESEARCH SCHOOL	6	3.3	24	7.5	28	7.1	39	7.5	52	8.5	43	7.8	49	8.6	56	5.5	69	6.2	366	7.3
ECONOMIC	23	12.5	41	12.9	42	10.6	68	13.1	73	12.0	70	12.7	75	13.1	102	10.0	82	9.7	576	11.5
ELITICAL	6	4.3	25	7.8	34	8.6	53	10.2	78	12.8	53	9.6	57	10.0	76	7.4	114	13.5	498	9.9
MIGR.ETHNICRELAT	2	1.1	6	2.5	11	2.8	13	2.5	14	2.3	7	1.3	17	3.0	22	2.2	15	1.8	109	2.2
DURISM	4	2.2	7	2.2	17	4.3	22	4.2	24	3.9	14	2.5	14	2.5	28	2.7	19	2.3	149	3.0
PORT	19	10.3	26	8.2	56	14.1	70	13.5	90	14.8	89	16.2	84	14.7	126	12.3	102	12.1	662	13.2
RAMSPORT REGIO-	8	4.3	9	2.8	7	1.8	26	5.0	21	3.4	10	1.8	13	2.3	20	2.0	18	2.1	132	2.6
AL PLANNING																				
ILITARY	25	13.6	20	6.3	26	6.6	20	3.8	25	4.1	24	4.4	14	2.5	38	3.7	33	3.9	225	4.5
ELIGION	2	1.1	11	3.4	19	4.8	12	2.3	14	2.3	18	3.3	7	1.2	17	1.7	4	.5	104	2.1
IPLOMATIC	6	4.3	20	6.3	15	3.8	18	3.5	13	2.1	22	4.0	38	6.7	57	5.6	33	3.9	224	4.5
SSISTANCE RELIEF	3	1.6	3	.9	8	2.0	10	1.9	4	.7	14	2.5	8	1.4	228	22.3	82	9.7	360	7.2
Tot.	184	3.7	319	6.4	396	7.9	520	10.4	609	12.1	550	11.0	571	11.4	1021	20.4	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Tab. 12 - Sector of activity by year

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.
CULTURAL	82 44.6	149 45.7	181 40.7	208 40.0	253 41.5	229 41.6	244 42.7	307 30.1	342 40.5	1975 39.4
SOCIAL	28 14.1	48 15.0	94 23.7	105 20.2	122 20.0	120 23.3	116 20.3	333 38.5	233 24.1	1235 24.6
ECONOMIC	35 19.0	57 17.9	66 16.7	116 22.3	118 13.4	94 17.1	102 17.9	150 14.7	119 14.1	857 17.1
POLITICAL	41 22.3	65 20.4	75 18.9	91 17.5	116 19.0	99 18.0	109 19.1	171 16.7	180 21.3	947 18.9
Tot.	184 3.7	319 6.4	396 7.9	520 10.4	609 12.1	550 11.0	571 11.4	1021 20.4	844 16.8	5014 100.0

Tab. 13 -Sector of activity (recorder) by year

NB: CULTURAL = Cultural + research education

SOCIAL = Emigration ethnic relation + sport + religion + assistance relief

ECONOMIC = Economic + tourism + transport regional planning

POLITICAL = Political & military + diplomatic

sector decreasing, while political and especially cultural events continue to grow in absolute numbers (Cfr. Tab.13).

Once recognized that there are no dramatical changes in the distribution of the events per sector of activity during the years considered in the file, we can compare the transfrontier with the rest of the events, just by looking at the total figures (Cfr. Tab.14). The transfrontier type of interactions is composed of a minor share of events involving the cultural and research-education sectors. Very few events involve the military and the major part of them are restricted to the earthquake relief activity.

The other interactions are exchanges of greetings between frontier officers during the New Year's Eve. The diplomatic events, as can be expected, are non existent. The sports events are more present in transfrontier interactions (24% instead of 10%).

Even more interesting is the fact that also economic events and interactions related to transport and regional planning are percentually more present at the trans-frontier, than at the rest of ^{the} transnational level. From the fact that the political meetings at the transfrontier level weigh more than double ^{when} confronted with the political activity at the rest of ^{the} transnational level, we have another verification of the hypothesis that the interactions of transfrontier partners are more purposeful and interesting for our analysis due to their possible integrating effects.

	Transnational		Transfrontier		Tot.	
CULTURAL	1312	35.2	297	23.0	1609	32.1
RESEARCH SCHOOLS	313	8.4	53	4.1	366	7.3
ECONOMIC	398	10.7	178	13.8	576	11.5
POLITICAL	291	7.8	207	16.0	498	9.9
EMIGR. ETHNIC REL	78	2.1	31	2.4	109	2.2
TOURISM	124	3.3	25	1.9	148	3.0
SPORT	356	9.6	306	23.7	662	13.2
TRANSPORT REGIONAL PLANNING	83	2.2	49	3.8	132	2.6
MILITARY	202	5.4	23	1.8	225	4.5
RELIGION	90	2.4	14	1.1	104	2.1
DIPLOMATIC	223	6.0	1	.1	224	4.5
ASSISTANCE RELIEF	253	6.8	107	8.3	360	7.2
Tot.	3723	74.3	1291	25.7	5014	100.0

Tab. 14 - Sector of activity by sequence (transnational/transfrontier)

5.3.3. The behavioral category of the event

Another variable in the file, which is closely related to the variable sector, describes the behavioral category of the event. In a preliminary stage of the research this variable was of the nominal type, coding the labels attributed to the events by the source (concert, economic fair, political meeting, etc...). The variable has been later recoded into five more broad categories which have been ordered along a continuum that goes from a maximum to a minimum of involvement of the lay public, side by side with an increasing purposefulness or degree of operativeness in the content of the events implied. The categories used in recoding the variable are: exhibitions, ceremonial meetings and exchanges, visits and inspections, conferences and "operative" meetings (4).

The exhibitions category has been constructed by recoding together the following items (in brackets the number of times they appear in the file):

- Sports event (297), usually with two teams or sportsman involved;
- Tournament (271), when more than two teams are involved;
- Sports exploit (16). This is a kind of sports event with only one team involved, with or without public watching.

For example, mountain climbing or the attempt of establishing a new sports record;

- Concert, opera, ballet (793);
- Conference, cultural soireé (280);
- Arts exhibition (95);
- Theatre, recital of prose (45);
- Festival, folklore exhibition, cultural event (130);
- Round table, lecture and the like at the university or research
- Exhibition of acrobatic military air- team or of military bodies (42) ;

- Recording of film or show for foreign TV or radio (12).

The category "ceremonial meetings and (cultural) exchanges" is composed of the following items:

- Visit, journey of representatives of twin towns (41), this code has been used especially when , following the already established relations of twin-towns between two local communities, there are exchanges of visits of students or young people of the two communities;
- Journey of political personality (23), when meetings were not specified by the source;
- Sojourns abroad for study (57), for example of students or researchers that go abroad to attend courses or to specialize, usually within the framework of the cultural exchanges between two states;
- Sojourns, short visits of foreign students (43). This case is different from the preceeding one because here we deal ^{with} shorter visits usually to see or study a museum, monument or cultural institution;
- Journey abroad of boy-scouts , veterans or of any other organized group (8);
- Visit of cultural, folk group (14);
- Meeting of commander of naval ^{foreign} unit with head of port (11);
- Meeting of political actors ^{with} cultural group or students (21);
- Meeting of politicians with sports organization (30), also used for the distribution of prizes in sports events by political actors or for a sports event held in presence of political authorities;
- Meeting of various actors with emigrants community (43), this item has also been used to code the inauguration of a new centre of an emigrants association;
- Signature of economic or commercial agreements (4);

- Awarding of academic or cultural prize (31);
- Inauguration of scientific or arts exhibition (75);
- Political ceremony (37);
- Bestowal of honorary citizenship or of honours (31);
- Inauguration of meeting , seminar, school (17);
- Religious ceremony (26);
- Launch of a ship, inauguration of international air-line connection (18);
- Message, telegram, letter(70), almost in all instances with congratulations, condolences or the like;
- Meeting of veterans (30), including a few cases of meetings of veterans with a city major;
- Twinning ceremony (not of towns) (3).

A set of events related to the post-earthquake relief activity have also been coded under this general heading:

- Signature of convention for assistance (8);
- Civilians, technicians operating in a disaster area (13);
- Delivering of material aid to disaster population (87);
- Manifestation of gratitude or taking leave of donors (7);
- Ceremony of delivering of pre-fabricated houses (46);
- Manifestation of solidarity with disaster population (19);
- Military corps (also fire-men) intervene in disaster area;
- Offer of money to disaster population (47).

The category of "visits and inspections" comprises the following items:

- Visit to industrial plant of economic authority, technicians, journalists (86);
- Visit to industrial plant of military authorities (3);
- Visit to industrial plant of politicians, or political delegations (25);
- Visit to industrial plant of trade-unions delegations (1);
- Visit to industrial plant of ambassador or consul (11);

- Visit to industrial plant or research institute of students (13);
- Visit to highway node, port area, pipe-line, frontier-installation of delegations of any kind (35);
- Visit of a group (i.e. of journalists) to military base or ship (18);
- Visit of ambassador or consul to military installation (4);
- Visit of foreign delegation to trade fair or exhibition (132), this item has been used also for the participation of foreign delegation to the inauguration of trade fairs or exhibitions;
- Participation, with stand, to trade fair (42);
- International economic fair (24);
- Visit of expert, technician for on the spot investigation (36);
- Visit to disaster area of various actors (41).

Since for these kind of events most of the time if not always, meetings with other actors are implied, in further recordings of this variable they will be grouped with the "operative" meetings.

Under the heading "conferences" have been grouped these kind of events:

- International conference, symposium (213);
- Meeting of EEC commission or in EEC environment, or meeting of any other international organization (15);
- Meeting of commissions for border-traffic supply (33);
- Party meeting or congress (10);
- Meeting of experts, administrators (26);
- Speech, comments, intervention (9);
- Press conference (65).

The meetings can be ordered into two subsets:

Homogeneous meetings (meetings of actors that belong to the same sector);

- Meeting of politicians (213);
- Meeting of academic or cultural personalities (47); including here also the visits of academic personalities, with no meeting specified;

- Meeting of economic authorities or operators (137);
- Meeting of military authorities (37);
- Meeting of Rotary Clubs and the like (22);
- Meeting of tourism organizations (72);
- Meeting of cultural groups or associations (38);
- Meeting of relief organizations (46);
- Meeting of party delegations (35);
- Meeting of trade-unions (14);
- Meeting of sport organizations (37);
- Meeting of religious organizations (25);

Not homogeneous meetings (meetings between actors that belong to different sectors):

- Meeting of ambassador or UN representative with political or "city" authorities (85);
- Meeting of politicians with other authorities (42);
- Meeting of politicians with economic delegation or economic authorities (55);
- Meeting of military authority with politicians (50);
- Meeting with foreign consul of politicians or public functionaries (47);
- Meeting with leader of emigrants association (15);
- Meeting of various actors with religious personalities (35);
- Meeting of disaster relief organization to plan aid to earthquake population (62).

The time series for the above seen items is not given here since no definite trends can be ascertained from the data save for a limited number of items. This is due to the very low figures for most items at this level of disaggregation.

Besides, hardly any definite trend can be identified, also in the proposed aggregation of the variable. We could only note that there is a certain small decrease in the relative

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.										
EXHIBITIONS	87	47.3	145	45.5	165	41.7	215	41.3	266	43.7	244	44.4	232	48.6	327	32.0	349	41.4	2030	40.5
CEREMONIES	23	12.5	59	18.5	72	18.2	117	22.5	59	16.3	92	16.7	92	16.1	266	26.1	141	16.7	961	19.2
EXCHANGES																				
VISITS	23	12.5	32	10.0	42	10.6	64	12.3	65	10.7	48	8.7	56	9.6	80	7.8	61	7.2	471	9.4
INSPECTIONS																				
CONFERENCES	15	8.2	14	4.4	21	5.3	36	6.9	48	7.9	40	7.3	63	11.0	70	6.9	64	7.6	371	7.4
MEETINGS	36	18.2	69	21.6	96	24.2	88	16.9	131	21.5	126	22.9	128	22.4	278	27.2	229	27.1	1181	23.6
Tot.	164	3.7	319	6.4	396	7.9	520	10.4	609	12.1	550	11.0	571	11.4	1021	20.4	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Tab. 15 - Behavioral category of the event by year

importance of the exhibitions and an upward tendency in the percentage of the operative meetings. Also for this variable we can note the variations induced by the events following the two earthquakes of 1976 that bring an increase of activity to all the categories, the amount of this increase being different. As it could be expected, there is an increase in the operative meetings. The visits and inspections by various actors to the damaged area do not compensate for the decline in the visits to industrial plants and the like, and thus the percentage of this item decreases.

Ceremonial meetings almost double their share of the total of events since all the demonstrations of solidarity with the disastared populations are included in this category. The exhibitions and the conferences are instead declining, as a share of the total, while growing in absolute values. Also for this variable, 1977 means the slow return to the normal pattern.

Making again a comparison between transfrontier and other transnational interactions we can note some differences in the relative strength of the items of the variable. Operative meetings and visits/inspections are relatively more frequent in interactions with transfrontier partners, while the contrary can be said for the exhibitions. This finding is another hint of the greater relevance of purposeful events in transfrontier interactions (cfr. Tab. 9).

	Transnational		Transfrontier		Tot.	
EXHIBITION	1541	41.4	489	37.9	2030	40.5
CEREMONIES EXCHANGES	705	18.9	256	19.8	961	19.2
VISITS, INSPECTIONS	337	9.1	134	10.4	471	9.4
CONFERENCES	276	7.4	95	7.4	371	7.4
MEETINGS	864	23.2	317	24.6	1181	23.6
Tot.	3723	74.3	1291	25.7	5014	100.0

Tab. 16 - Behavioral category of the events by sequence (Transfrontier/

The analysis of this variable will not be developed further since it has been used for the construction of the new variable: "type of event". This variable has been built by crosstabulating the behavioral category with the sector and then recoding the cells to have, in the same category events that are homogeneous enough to give, from the label, a clear idea of the underlying content, without an excessive disaggregation of the categories.

	EXHIB.	CEREM. EXCH.	VISITS INSP.	CONFER.	MEETINGS
CULTURAL	1 1299 25.9	3 338 6.7	6 48 1.0	4 170 3.4	6 120 2.4
SOCIAL	2 599 11.9	368 7.3	37 .7	14 .3	217 4.3
ECONOMIC	5 50 1.0	69 1.4	7 332 6.6	126 2.5	7 280 5.6
POLITICAL	82 1.6	186 3.7	8 54 1.1	61 1.2	564 11.2

Tab. 17 - Sector of activity (recoded) by behavioral category of the event

The eight resulting categories are the following:

- 1) cultural exhibitions: where the exhibition of music and folklore groups or individuals, theatre, lectures and similar cultural events are included;
- 2) social exhibitions: usually sports events.
- 3) cultural and social ceremonial meetings: includes a quite heterogeneous set of events that hold a particular importance in the transnational relations. Friendship feasts, twin-town exchanges, inaugurations, awarding of prizes and most of the activities related to the international relief in occasion of the 1976 earthquakes are listed here.

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.
JLT.EXHIBITION	67 26.4	102 32.0	105 26.5	131 25.2	165 27.1	144 26.2	150 26.3	204 20.0	231 27.4	1299 25.9
PORT EVENTS	17 9.2	26 8.2	52 13.1	67 12.9	80 13.1	81 14.7	71 12.4	108 10.6	97 11.5	599 11.9
JLT.AND SOC. EREM. AND EXCH.	13 7.1	36 11.3	50 12.6	74 14.2	62 10.2	62 11.3	71 12.4	223 21.8	115 13.6	706 14.1
ONFERENCES	12 6.5	13 4.1	17 4.3	29 5.6	41 6.7	35 6.4	53 9.3	62 6.1	48 5.7	310 6.2
CON.OR POLITIC AL MANIFESTAT.	13 7.1	40 12.5	30 7.6	60 11.5	58 9.5	49 8.9	32 5.6	58 5.7	47 5.6	387 7.7
JLT.AND SOC. EETINGS	8 4.3	25 7.8	37 9.3	26 5.0	44 7.2	45 8.2	38 6.7	125 12.2	74 8.8	422 8.4
EETINGS OF ECON. CTORS	24 13.0	38 11.9	52 13.1	76 14.6	77 12.6	71 12.9	69 12.1	113 11.1	92 10.9	612 12.2
EETINGS OF POLI4 ICAL ACTORS	30 16.3	39 12.2	53 13.4	57 11.0	82 13.5	63 11.5	87 15.2	128 12.5	140 16.6	679 13.5
Tot.	184 3.7	319 6.4	396 7.9	520 18.4	609 12.1	550 11.0	517 11.4	1021 20.4	844 16.8	5014 100.0

Tab. 18 -Type of event by year

- 4) conferences and other propositional meetings on cultural, scientific, social and economic matters,
- 5) political or economic public demonstrations,
- 6) meetings and visits of cultural and social actors,
- 7) meetings and visits of economic actors,
- 8) meetings and visits of political actors.

If we refer to the column percentages (tab.18), which show the relative composition of the type of event for every year in the file, we can note that, while the cultural exhibitions show a relative decline, especially during the first years, the sports events increase until 1972. The other items reveal a certain stability or no definite trends

difficult to be appreciated without the completion of the gaps, of the years not present in the file or the crosstabulation, with other intervening variables, (This last strategy will be used when examining the interactions in the Alpe Adria transfrontier region).

As a first appreciation of the difference between transfrontier and other transnational interactions, we can note, from the table presented below (cfr. tab.19), that transfrontier interactions are composed of a relatively major share of sports events, cultural and social ceremonies and exchanges, and meetings of economic actors. Significantly lower is the relative presence of cultural exhibitions and economic and political public demonstrations. The other categories do not show important percentage differences.

	Transnational		Transfrontier		Tot.	
CULTURAL EXHIBITION	1089	83.9	210	16.8	1299	25.9
SPORTS EVENTS	333	55.6	256	44.4	599	11.9
CULTURAL/SOCIAL CEREM. MEETINGS	513	72.7	193	27.3	706	14.1
CONFERENCES	213	74.5	79	25.5	310	6.2
ECONOMIC/POLITICAL PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS	311	80.4	76	19.6	387	7.7
CULTURAL/SOCIAL MEETINGS	304	72.0	118	28.0	422	8.4
ECONOMIC MEETINGS	438	71.6	174	28.4	612	12.2
POLITICAL MEETINGS	504	74.2	175	25.8	679	13.5
tot.	3723	74.3	1291	25.7	5014	100.0

Tab. 19 - Type of event by sequence (transfrontier/transnational)

5.3.4. The loci of interaction

As regards the places of interaction, the ratio between events that happened in Friuli-Venetia Julia and outside the borders of the region remains reasonably constant (short-term variations are present) with almost three-quarters in favour of the first category. This is not surprising since the only source used in building the data-bank has been a regional one.

Locus	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977
Friuli-Venetia Julia	69.6	76.8	69.7	73.8	74.7	77.8	73.0	76.8	71.1
Foreign locus	30.4	23.2	30.1	26.2	25.3	22.2	27.0	21.2	28.9

Tab. 20 - Locus by year (Percentages)

It is more interesting to compare the distribution among the four provinces of the region and their hinterlands. Two facts emerge neatly from the data: the relative decline of Trieste in favour of the other cities and, for all the provinces except Trieste, where the hinterland is quasi - non existent, a general increase in importance of the smaller centers. This is particularly true for the province of Udine, the largest one (See tab. 21).

The relative decline in the role of Trieste can be analyzed more closely by looking at the percentages that express the share of this town as a locus of interaction for the various sectors. We can thus note that, while social events remain reasonably constant, and marginal, the political events are quite constant but at a higher level. It must be considered that an otherwise probable decline also in this sector of activity has been prevented by the creation of the autonomous region Friuli-Venetia Julia that located all, or most, of its political and administration offices in Trieste. The relative decline of this

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Locus	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977
Friuli-Venetia Julia	69.6	76.8	69.7	73.8	74.7	77.8	73.0	78.8	71.1
Foreign locus	30.4	23.2	30.1	26.2	25.3	22.2	27.0	21.2	28.9

Tab. 20 - Locus by year (Percentages)

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	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.								
F.V.J.	1	.8	1	.4	2	.7	7	1.8	1	.2	2	.5	61	7.6	3	.5	78	2.1
UDINE	40	31.3	46	18.8	48	17.4	55	14.3	68	14.9	77	18.0	69	16.5	104	17.3	670	17.9
UD-PROV.	14	10.9	13	5.3	38	13.8	61	15.9	79	17.4	80	18.7	72	17.3	134	22.3	680	18.2
PORDENONE	2	1.6	9	3.7	17	6.2	19	4.9	36	7.9	34	7.9	25	6.0	41	5.1	215	5.8
PN-PROV.	4	3.1	6	2.4	10	3.6	10	2.6	12	2.6	15	3.5	10	2.4	23	2.9	123	3.3
GORIZIA	11	8.5	15	6.1	18	6.5	27	7.0	53	11.6	49	11.4	50	12.0	77	9.6	363	9.2
GO-PROV.	2	1.6	4	1.6	4	1.4	25	6.5	24	5.3	21	4.9	21	5.0	14	1.7	146	3.9
TRIESTE	52	40.6	150	61.2	137	49.6	175	45.6	180	39.6	149	34.8	169	40.5	231	28.7	1441	38.6
TS-PROV.	2	1.6	1	.4	2	.7	5	1.3	2	.4	1	.2	1	.2	6	.7	22	.6
Tot.	128	3.4	245	6.6	276	7.4	384	10.3	455	12.2	428	11.4	417	11.2	805	21.5	3738	100.0

Tab. 21 - Locus of interaction in F.V.J. by year

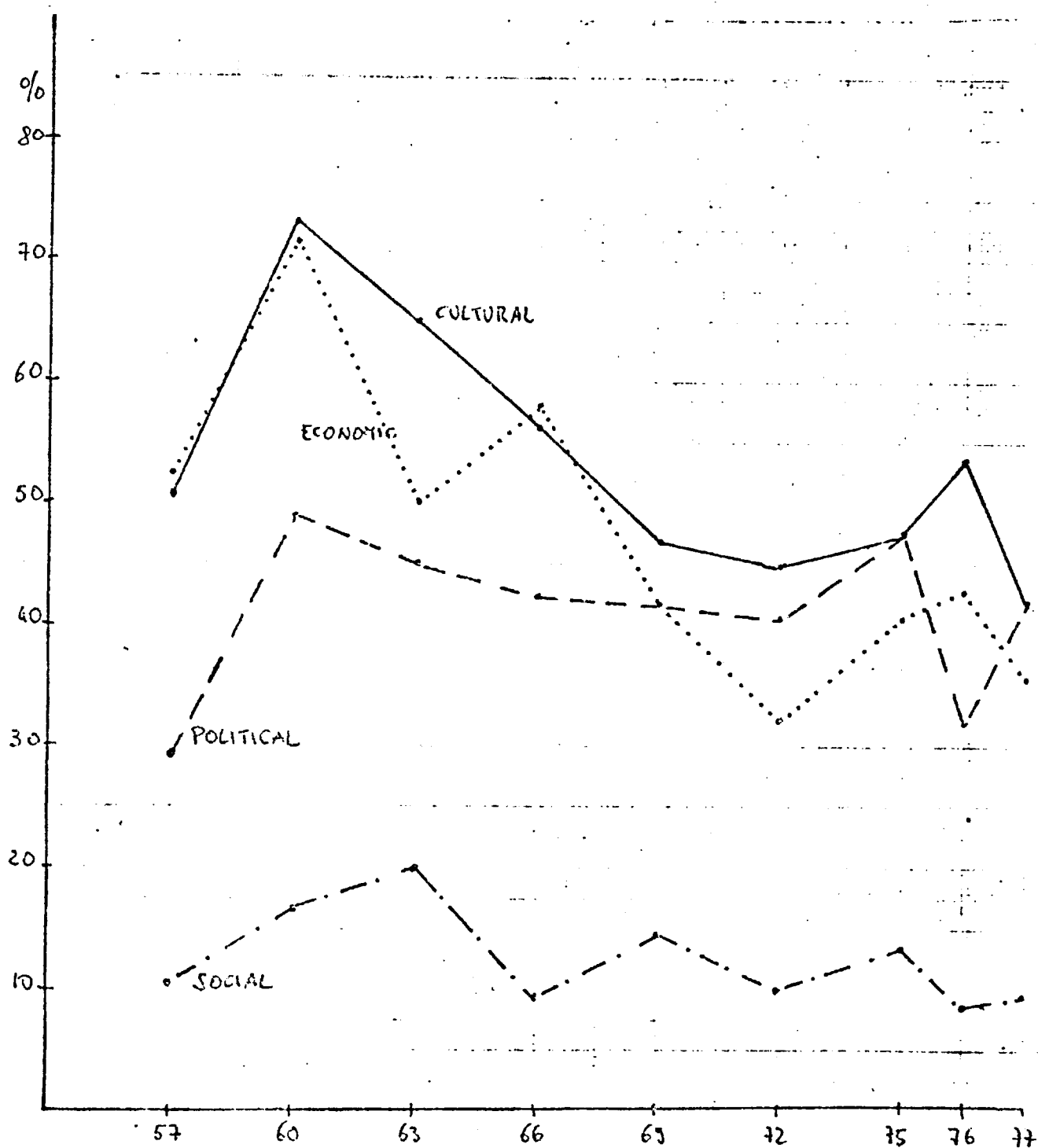


Fig. 24 - Events with locus in Trieste by sector (percentages)

town is instead quite evident in the economic and cultural sectors. This is due to the stagnation of cultural activities in absolute values (while the other seats of interaction show a certain dynamism during the last years), and to a decline even in the absolute number of interactions in the economic sector (cfr.fig.24)

Other comments can be made by looking at the differences that emerge in the role of the four provinces and their hinterlands, when we compare transfrontier with the rest of transnational events.

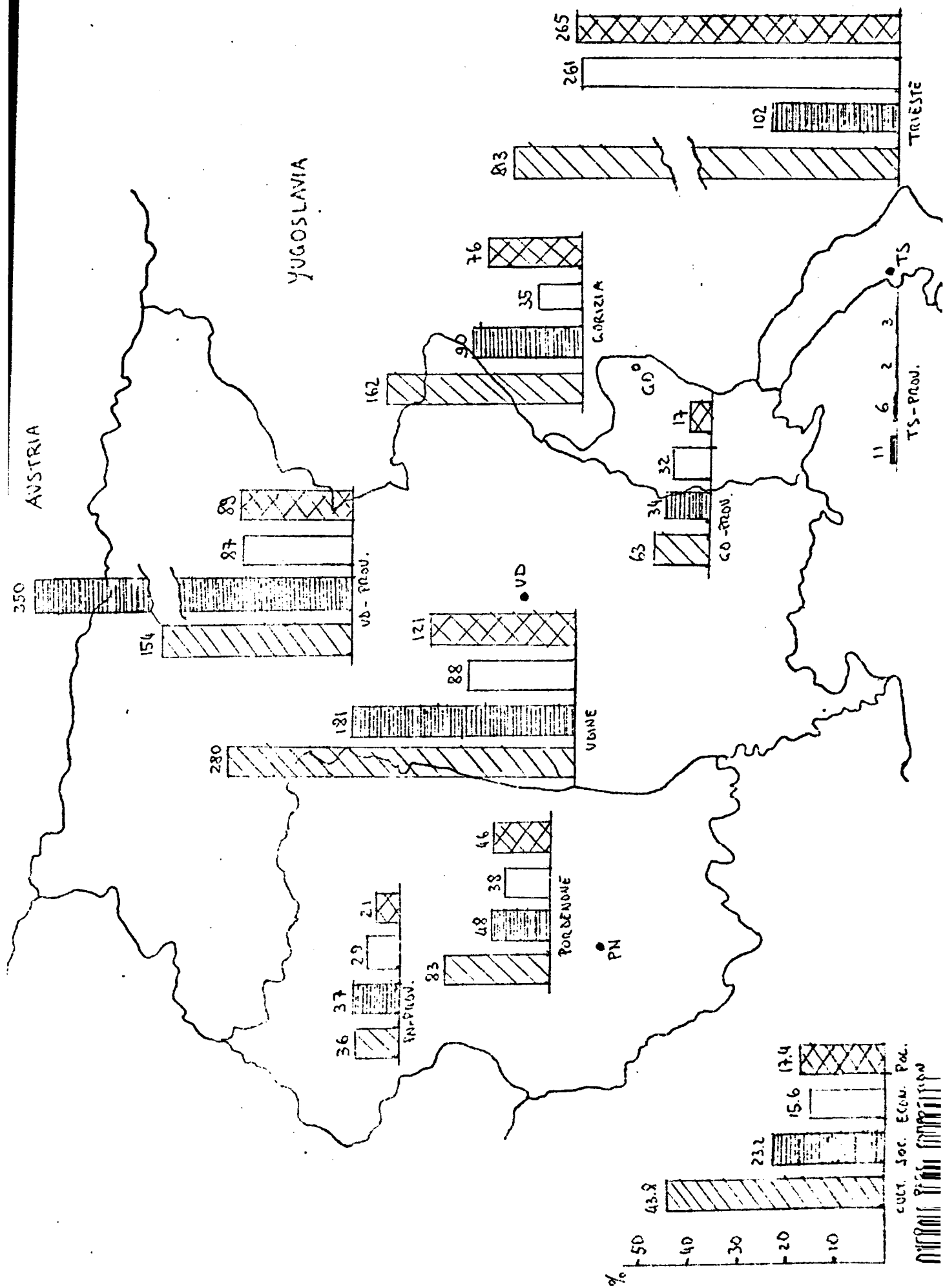
One important finding is that, the role of Trieste is drastically reduced in the case of transfrontier interactions thus giving more evidence to the fact that the cities are oriented to longer distance international linkages. Not surprisingly, being a province that does not border with Austria and Yugoslavia, Pordenone is very low in transfrontier interactions. The ratio between Udine and the rest of its hinterland is in favour of the latter in transfrontier interactions and this too, corroborates the above seen hypothesis of the cities tending to assume a role more open to the wide international environment. This is not true for Gorizia that, for geographical reasons, being a border town or, better, a "town split by the border", is more inclined to transfrontier interactions than its hinterland (5).

We can now trace the profiles of the various regional places of interaction by looking at the differences in the sectorial composition, without taking into account the time dimension.

It can be noted, first of all, that Trieste is far ahead of the other places of interaction in the cultural sector, and, as a general finding, all the towns are ahead their respective hinterlands in this sector. In the hinterland of Udine the social interactions are percentually, and also in absolute values, more than proportionally present, and this is due mainly to sports activity and, for the last years in the file, to the assistance/relief activities. Trieste is instead very low in this item. Not surprisingly, we find active above average in the economic interactions Trieste,

	TRANSNATIONAL	TRANSFRONTIER	Tot.
F.V.J.	66 2,3	12 1,4	78 2,1
UDINE	507 17,5	163 19,4	670 17,9
UD-PROV	420 14,5	260 30,9	680 18,2
PORDENONE	179 6,2	36 4,3	215 5,8
PN-PROV	96 3,3	27 3,2	123 3,3
GORIZIA	217 7,5	146 17,3	363 9,7
GO-PROV.	95 3,3	51 6,1	146 3,9
TRIESTE	1300 44,9	141 16,8	1441 38,5
TS-PROV.	17 .5	5 .6	22 .6
TOT.	2897 77,5	841 22,5	3738 100

Tab. 22 - Locus of interactions in F.V.J. by sequence
(transfrontier/transnational)



has an important port, industrial plants and an annual international industrial fair. For the political activities we can observe a pattern similar to that we have noted for the cultural activities, with the towns always ahead^{of} their hinterlands.

A comparison can be made between events that happened inside and outside Friuli-Venetia Julia, by looking at the sectorial composition. The events that had their locus of interaction in Friuli account for the 44% in the cultural sector, which lowers to 27% in the case of events that happened outside, while the share of events in the other sectors is increased proportionally. It seems quite reasonable to interpret this fact as due to a lower sensitivity of the source for events that happen outside Friuli when, as is the case when dealing with cultural interactions, they involve just an individual actor that is invited to perform abroad.

LOCI/SECTOR	Cul- tural %	So- cial %	Eco- nomic %	Poli- tical %	Tot. %
Friuli-Venetia Julia	1602 (43.8)	848 (23.2)	572 (15.6)	638 (17.4)	3660 100
Outside	373 (27.5)	387 (28.6)	285 (21.1)	309 (22.8)	1354 100

Tab. 23 - Locus of interaction by sector of activity

The foreign loci have been grouped in large geo-political areas.

For some of these areas the data are not numerous enough to state a significant deviation from the general composition by sector of the events. Nevertheless it can be noted that the interactions in the EEC countries are composed of a more than proportional number of cultural and political interactions. In the interactions that happened in the two bordering states of Austria and Yugoslavia, a more than proportional presence of economic events can be noted.

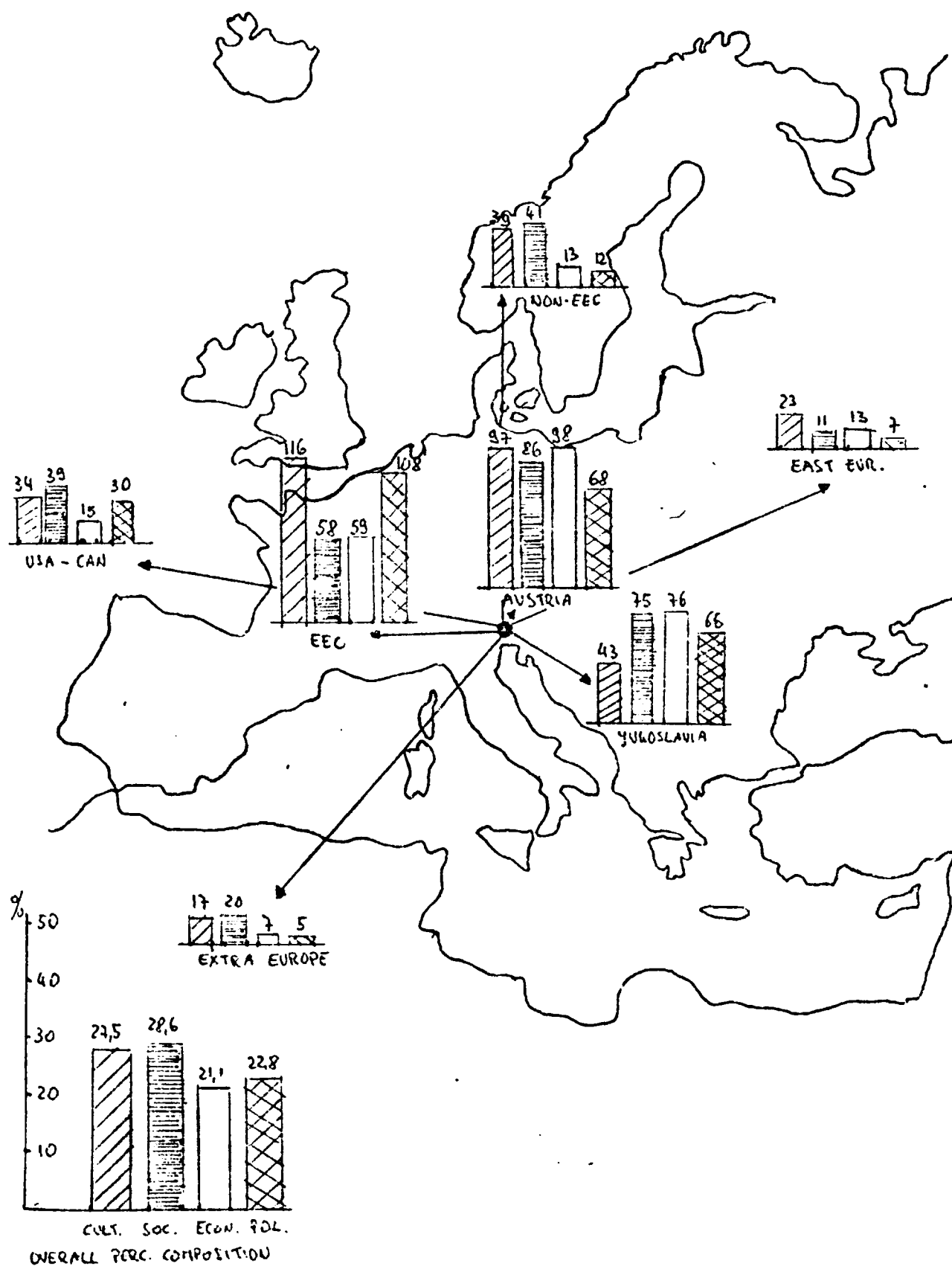


Fig. 28 - Foreign loci of interaction by sector

While political interactions are not frequent in geographically distant places, this is not the case for the USA and Canada.

5.4. The actors

We will look now at the actors involved in these transnational events. Three variables have been coded that allow us to identify the single actor according to its geographical, functional and ethnic characters.

5.4.1. Location of the actors

For the geographical variable the same coding scheme has been used as we have examined previously for the variable "locus of interaction." We will not show here the data for the actors that are located within the Friuli-Venetia Julia region since they all present a percentage distribution almost identical to the one we have seen when treating the regional loci of interaction. We will instead analyse in more detail the location of the foreign partners of interaction. This strategy has been decided because of the above-mentioned low number of foreign places of interaction. When dealing with the location of the actors we have instead, notwithstanding the place of interaction, a foreign partner for every event (more than one in the case of multilateral events). The figures show the increase in the presence of the Yugoslavian actors that reaches its roof in 1969. On the contrary, a trend can be singled out of decreasing presence of actors from the EEC countries and, most of all, of the North-American actors. This last trend contrasts with 1976 and 1977 due to the important relief activity of the American actors shortly after the 1976 earthquakes and during the following rehabilitation period (Cfr. tab. 24). The figure presented below visualizes the situation for all the events taken together.

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot										
Austria	45	24,6	83	24,8	83	19,1	105	16,8	137	16,3	150	22,0	146	21,3	320	26,3	225	23,0	1294	22,0
Yugoslavia	18	9,8	23	6,8	50	11,5	121	19,4	203	27,2	152	22,3	178	25,9	259	21,3	240	24,6	1244	21,1
CEE	39	21,3	108	32,2	142	32,7	176	28,2	156	20,8	168	24,6	157	22,9	259	21,3	196	20,1	1401	23,8
Rest of West. Eur.	21	11,5	12	3,6	34	7,8	40	6,4	67	8,9	63	9,2	46	6,7	66	5,4	59	6,0	408	8,9
East Eur.	16	8,8	26	7,8	24	5,5	59	9,4	80	10,7	71	10,4	65	9,5	79	6,5	81	8,3	501	8,5
USA Can	33	18,0	57	17,0	65	14,9	82	13,1	67	8,9	50	7,3	44	6,4	154	12,6	106	10,9	658	11,2
Extreuer	11	6,0	26	7,8	37	8,5	42	6,7	39	5,2	29	4,2	50	7,3	80	6,6	69	7,1	383	6,5
Tot.	183	335	435	625	749	683	686	1217	976	5889										

Fig. 24 - Localization of the foreign actors by year

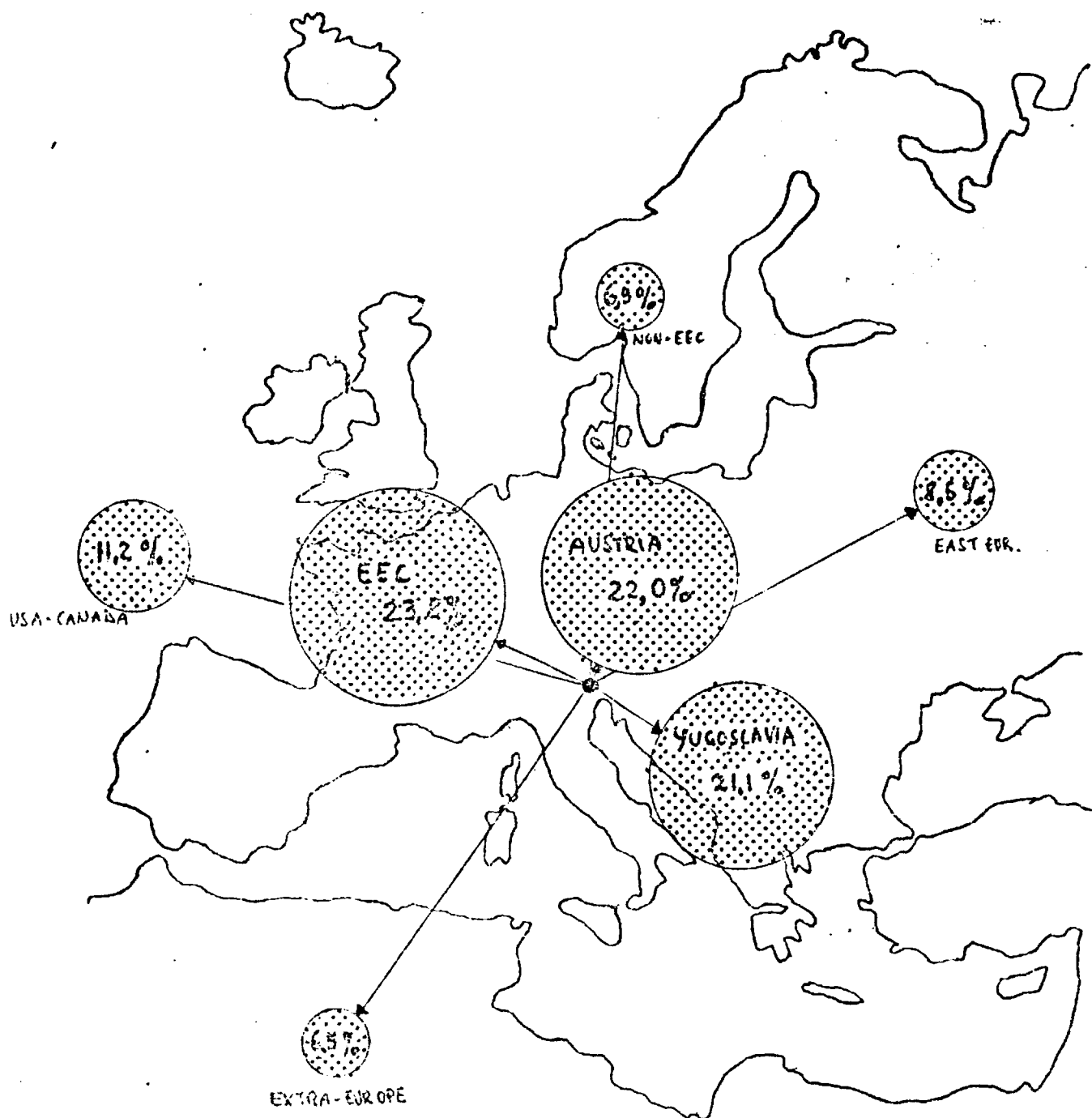


Fig. 27 - Bilateral interactions of Friuli-Venetia Giulia with selected economic/political regions (percentages)

5.4.2. Functional characterization of the actors

The variable that describes the functional characterization of the actor has been extensively discussed in the first chapter of this work. It has been clearly indicated there that the taxonomy of actors was meant as a hard core one: quite referable, but subject to modifications, that have to be justified, due to particular research needs or to the nature of the subject studied.

In the case of the present research in particular, it has to be stressed that, its aim to study the transnational interactions of a single region, drastically reduces the presence of the actors at the international level. Therefore, in certain tables, the IGO's and the INGO's are grouped together. As regard to the internal level, there is no need here to outline again the difficulties that might emerge in trying to disaggregate the internal non-governmental actors (voluntary organizations), following their territorial reach (central/non-central). It was preferred to retrace this disaggregation by the prevailing sector of activity of the organization. The internal governmental (public) actors have been disaggregated, whenever necessary for the analysis, into a classification that coores with the Italian administrative situation, the levels being those of the nation-state, region, province and commune.

The analysis of this variable is carried out for all the actors present in the file, regardless of whether they are "hosts" or "visitors" in the interactive situation.

As the overall absolute growth due to the increase in the number of events, certain types of actors show a trend, which is quite similar for the general one. We can notice first of all that there is a relative decline in the presence of the international actors at the international level of their presence in

	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977	
ICC	11	15	24	14	25	15	14	25	11	154 1,39
INGO	5	8	5	11	13	6	7	57	38	141 1,27
Tot.	17 4,7	23 3,5	28 3,5	25 2,3	38 2,9	21 1,7	21 1,6	82 3,4	39 2,1	
NAT.STATE	56 15,4	93 14,0	101 12,3	136 12,5	136 10,3	142 11,5	142 10,9	316 13,1	186 10,0	1310 11,82
REGION	3	17	18	62	81	77	129	223	195	605 7,26
PROVINCE	5	8	12	8	7	7	8	43	25	123 1,11
CITY	40	69	95	95	143	128	126	253	223	1172 10,56
Tot.	48 13,2	94 14,2	125 15,2	165 14,9	231 17,5	212 17,2	263 20,2	519 21,4	443 23,8	
INTRANAT NON GOV	189 52,1	356 53,7	461 56,0	582 52,7	698 53,0	679 54,9	666 51,0	1246 51,5	947 50,8	5824 52,50
IND.	53 14,6	97 14,6	107 13,0	194 17,6	215 16,3	182 14,7	213 16,3	257 10,6	248 13,3	1566 14,12
GRAND. TOT.	363 100,0	663 100,0	623 100,0	1104 100,0	1318 100,0	1236 100,0	1305 100,0	2420 100,0	1863 100,0	11095

Tab. 25 - Functional level of the actors by year

absolute values. This finding is contrasted only in 1976, when the earthquake gave to certain international organizations the opportunity to be present in Friuli with relief activities. A quite similar pattern is shown by the nation-state actors. Here again the relief activities induced a wider presence on the field of this kind of actor.

Inside the group of the intranational governmental actors we can notice that the role of the provinces has been, and remains for a long period of time, almost non significant, with only one exception, again, in the earthquake years, since certain powers in directing the relief activities were devoluted to these local administrations. It must also be remembered that this actor exists only in the Italian administrative subdivision ^{that} and this is another explanation of its reduced presence in the file (6). The role of the municipal authorities that are present in more than 10% (average) of the events is also stable, but at a much higher level.

The actor "regional government" shows instead a continuous growth. This is mainly due to the creation of the Autonomous Region Friuli Venezia Giulia in 1963. The interactive potentialities of this actor do not seem to have reached a roof and might even continue to grow in the future.

The actors of the intranational non governmental level have a quite constant presence in the file, accounting for slightly more than 50% of the total. We can instead look at the various components in which this level has been disaggregated. Due to the very few cases on which the percentages are calculated in certain instances, mainly for the first years of the file, and to the fact that we do not have the complete time series at hand, we will comment here only ^{on} the more evident trends. (Cfr. Tab.26)

	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977									
Political	3	1,6	5	1,4	7	1,5	14	2,4	26	3,7	8	1,2	27	4,0	41	3,3	49	5,2
Economic	29	15,3	49	13,8	55	11,9	87	14,9	76	10,9	73	10,7	97	14,6	216	17,3	131	13,8
Cultural	76	40,2	174	48,3	185	40,1	261	43,1	264	37,8	269	36,9	264	39,6	376	30,2	362	38,2
Sports	40	21,2	53	14,9	94	20,4	110	19,9	161	23,1	189	27,8	148	22,2	279	22,4	183	19,3
Industry	14	7,4	19	5,3	20	4,3	37	5,4	47	6,7	30	4,4	28	4,2	49	3,9	36	3,8
Research education	7	3,7	8	2,2	29	6,3	30	5,1	49	7,0	28	4,1	34	5,1	83	6,7	58	6,1
Emigrants	-	-	3	0,8	9	1,9	10	1,7	8	1,1	4	0,6	19	2,8	32	2,6	20	2,1
Assistance	8	4,2	10	2,6	9	1,9	3	0,5	5	0,7	18	2,6	11	1,6	76	6,1	42	4,4
Other	12	6,3	35	9,8	53	11,5	40	6,9	62	8,9	60	8,8	38	5,7	94	7,5	66	7,0
Tot.	189	356	461	582	698	679	666	1246	947									

Tab.26 - Voluntary organizations as actors in transnational interactions by year

The parties are present in transnational relations mainly through their representatives elected in the local administrations. They are thus present in the file only in a limited number of events as political organizations; the trend is however towards an increase of their share.

The economic organizations show a kind of nine year cycle in their level of activity, while industries show an increase in their presence with a peak in 1969 and a relative decline following that date.

The trend of the cultural and musical organizations is towards a relative decline in importance. The research institutions and schools show, on the contrary, a constant progress towards more involvement in transnational relations.

The trend of sports organizations is quite contradictory and we will examine it better below, when considering the transfrontier relations.

Going back to the table that shows the data for the aggregated functional level of the actors, we can look at the lower level of the scale. The individuals are in general the 14% of all actors coded, and their share is quite constant during the years. Their percentage lowers in 1976 and 1977, side by side, with the decrease in the presence of the cultural and musical organizations. Individuals are, in fact, in most instances the partners of these organizations in concerts, conferences and the like.

Having considered in the preceeding table all the actors together, we can now make a comparison by dividing them into two categories, having on one side all the actors that we have coded as the hosts or promoters of the event and on the other, all the other actors coded in the file (partners in bilateral or multilateral events and/or actors that participated as accessories

together with higher level actors).

Starting again from the top of the scale we can see that, while the international actors maintain a quite similar share, the percentage of the nation-state actors is very different (from 5,4 to 11,8%). This fact is due to two reasons: first of all the nation-state, in a considerable number of instances, is present in an event as a "side-partner", not directly involved in the interaction through the local representatives of its central administration. The other reason lies in the fact that, in a considerable number of ^{other} instances, the nation-state acts locally through its ambassadors and consuls, and in most of these cases the diplomat is the guest and falls in the second category.

The contrary can be said for the actors who fall into the intranational governmental level: they are percentually more present as promoters of transnational interactions.

Looking at the last two levels of the scale, it can be said that there is a trade-off between them since, while it is quite seldom that an individual or a group of individuals not formally organized is the promoter of an event, there are many instances in which the individuals are invited to participate in events organized by actors of the intranational non governmental level. Thus, what is lost percentually by one category is won by the other .

Level	First actor		Other actors	
International Organizations	129	2,9	166	2,5
Nation-State	237	5,4	1073	16,0
Intranational Gov.	1016	23,0	1084	16,2
Intranational non Gov.	2882	65,5	2942	44,0
Individ.	139	3,2	1427	21,3
Tot.	4403	100%	6692	100%

Tab. 27 - Functional level of the actors by role carried out in the interactive situation

We can now look at the actors making the usual subdivision in transfrontier and other transnational events. As can be expected, dealing with the transfrontier interactions of the regions of the Alpe-Adria (sub-national functional level) and of the actors residing there, the presence of the international and nation-state actors is almost null. The contrary can be said for the local governments which are more active in trans-frontier than in the other transnational interactions. This is true for the city governments, but in particular for the regional governments, that seem to have fully accepted and enhanced the ideology and practice of togetherness among the partners of the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region. The provincial administrations in Friuli-Venetia Julia (this administrative level is present only in this region) on the country do ^{not move} in the same direction, and their presence, weak in the transnational interactions, is quasi non-existent in the transfrontier ones.

	Transnational		Transfrontier		Tot.	
IGO	84	2.3	-	-	84	1.7
INGO	41	1.1	4	.3	45	.9
NATION-STATE	223	6.0	14	1.1	237	4.7
REGIONAL GOV.	193	5.2	146	11.3	339	6.8
PROVINCIAL GOV.	62	1.7	6	.5	68	1.4
CITY GOV.	405	10.9	204	15.8	609	12.1
POLITICAL ORG.	33	.9	33	2.6	66	1.3
ECONOMIC ORG.	302	8.1	142	11.0	444	8.9
CULTURE MUSIC	1035	27.8	198	15.3	1233	24.6
SPORTS ORG.	243	6.5	267	20.7	510	10.2
INDUSTRY	127	3.4	42	3.3	169	3.4
RESEARCH SCHOOL	135	3.6	36	2.8	171	3.4
EMIGRANTS ASS.	58	1.6	-	-	58	1.2
ASSIST. RELIEF	45	1.2	27	2.1	72	1.4
OTHER ORGANIZ.	108	2.9	51	4.0	159	3.2
INDIVIDUALS	110	3.0	28	2.2	139	2.8
MISSING	519	13.9	92	7.1	611	12.2
Tot.	3723	74.3	1291	25.7	5014	100.0

Tab. 28 - Type of actor by transnational/transfrontier interactions

The last two types of actors in the scale are in percentage almost equally present in the two types of events. Some differences can be found, by confronting the various items of the intra-national non-governmental level. All these differences are coherent with what has been previously noted when commenting on the sector and the behavioural category variables (for example, more sport events and less concerts and in general cultural exhibitions in the transfrontier interactions). Their differences can be seen here. The emigrants associations are not present in transfrontier interactions because the phenomenon of emigration is hardly known among the transfrontier partners. The parties are percentually more active in transfrontier relations and also economic organizations play a more relevant role.

5.4.3. Bilateral interactions between functional levels

By crosstabulating the systemic level of the two actors involved in bilateral interactions we can design the graphs shown in fig. 28 below. This has been done for all the bilateral interactions included in the file, since no relevant trends emerged from the inspection of the time dimension.

It appears quite clearly that the transfrontier and the rest of transnational interactions do represent two quite distinct realities. Transfrontier events are in fact more homogeneous from the point of view considered here. The greatest part of interactions occur between actors of the same level (75%). If we consider that the level of the intranational actors has been divided, for the scope of analysis, into the two sub-categories of governmental and non-governmental, but it could be legitimately grouped into one (this subdivision does not appear in fact at the nation-state, international and, of course, individual level), the

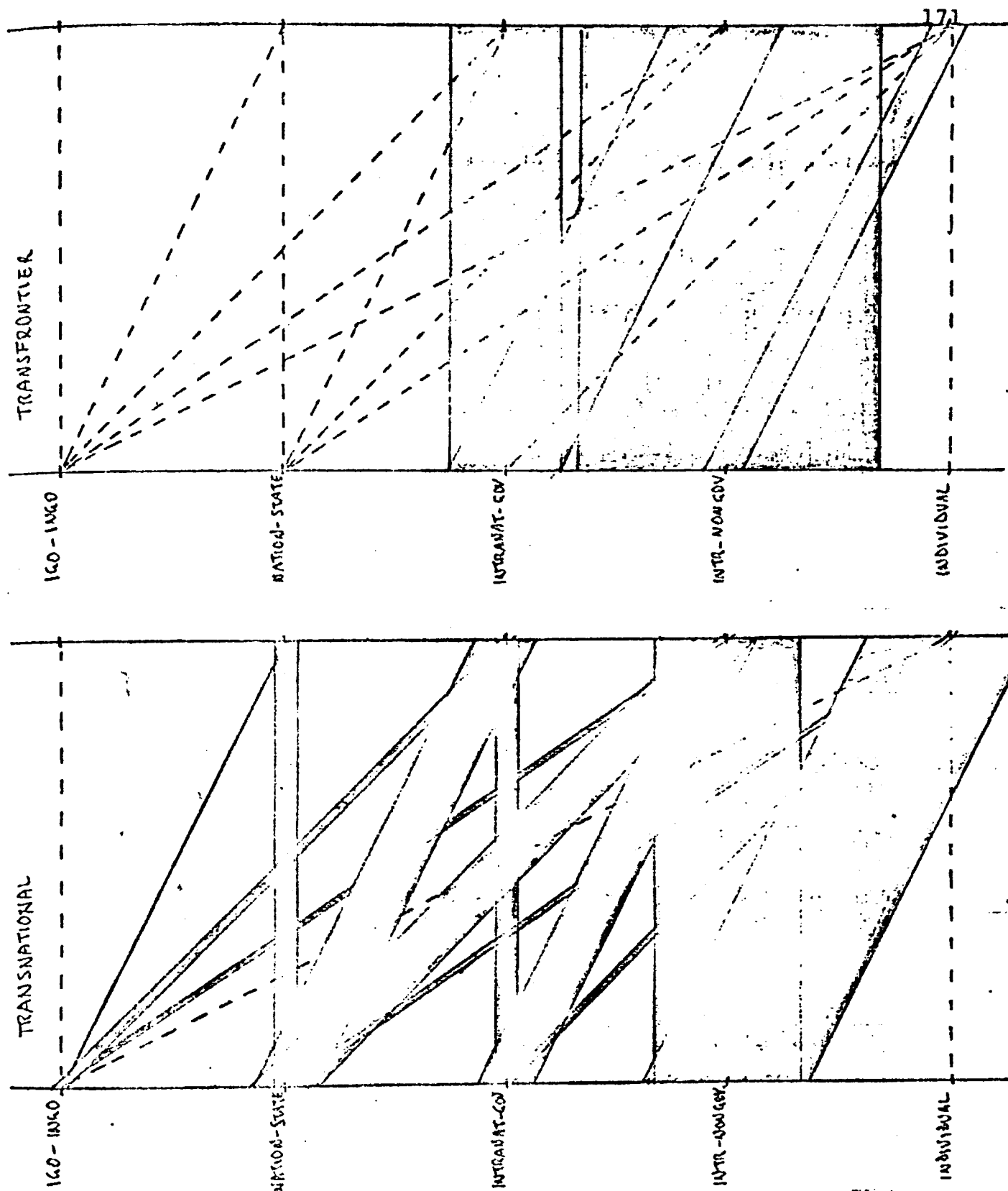


Fig. 28 - Between functional levels bilateral interactions
 (width in millimeters equal to percentages;
 — — — — — less than 1%)

percentage of interactions between actors of the same level increases to 91.5%. In the case of the other transnational bilateral events the percentage is lower (36.0%) increasing to 45.2% when the international actors are considered together. The rest of ^{the} transnational interactions are less homogeneous than the transfrontier ones, besides the preponderance of the same level interactions in these last ones, for the fact that, in transnational interactions, also the actors external to the regional reality enter in the scheme, with what role we will see below.

In the two graphs the interactions between different levels have been represented with stripes and lines descending from left to right. This has no particular meaning, they could have been traced the other way round, since the interactions between two levels are grouped together without taking into account which one of the two actors was the host and/or the originator of the event. Another graph has been prepared instead, where this kind of information is also represented. We have in fact, to the left, the first actor and to the right, the partner, or the actor that crossed the border to participate in the event. The interactions between actors of the same level have been omitted to avoid excessive graphical complication since they are not relevant to the aspects that we want to explore here. (Cfr. Fig.29)

Some patterns emerge quite clearly. A relevant part of the asymmetrical relations consist of interactions between intranational non-governmental actors and individuals. These events are typically concerts, lectures and other such instances where the individual is the "passive" actor, most of these events being of the type that we have called "organizer-invited".

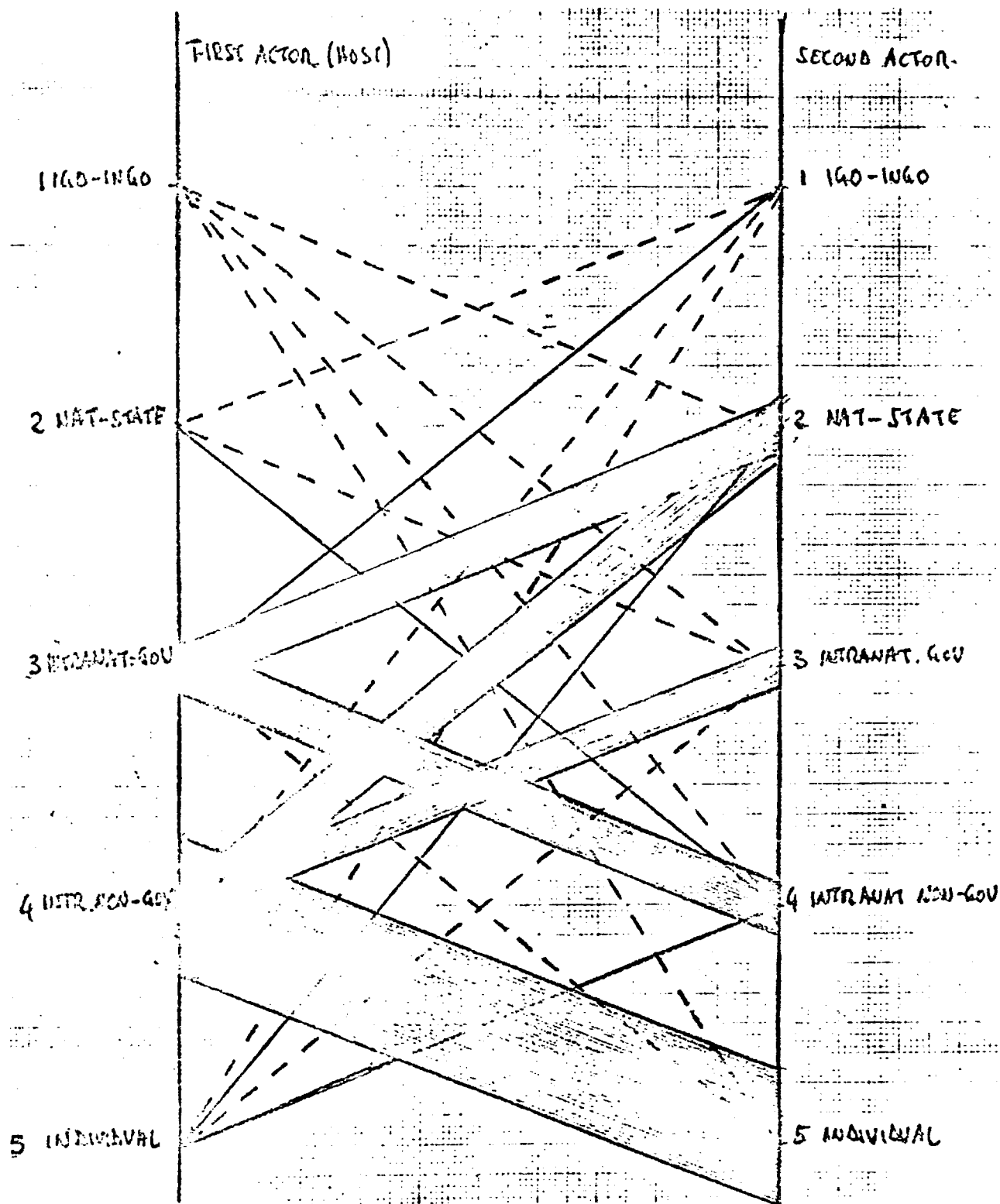


Fig. 29 - Asymmetrical bilateral interactions

(width in millimeters equal to percentages;

— — — — — less than 1%)

The intranational non-governmental actors (voluntary organizations) are, also in the asymmetrical relations, the most active actors and, together with the intranational governmental actors, are, in the greatest part of the events, in a position of promoter or host.

The actors placed at the extreme levels of the scale, play, as it was clear from the first two graphs, a marginal and subordinate role since, in the asymmetrical interactions we can see that they are almost always in the position of partners. It can also be clearly perceived that, the more the functional distance between the two actors, the less is the probability of having interactions between the two.

5.4.4. Ethnic characterization of the actors

The last variable used in describing the actors has been the ethnic characterization. It must be said that only few actors need this qualification to be fully identified and these will be exemplified below.

The Italian ethnic characterization has been related, for example, to the organizations of the Italians that live in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Their presence in the file is quite limited; only in 1976 and 1977^{does} the number of these actors increase: due to the activity of the Italian emigrants associations that enacted relief activities in Friuli. The Friulian ethnic qualification has been attached to organizations like "Friuli nel Mondo" and other Friulian emigrants associations, and also to certain folklore groups and to the "Società Filologica Friulana". These actors have a greater relevance in the file especially due to the contacts of the "head offices" in Friuli with the emigrants associations abroad. The presence of the Slovene actors in the file

is very scarce indeed (always remembering that the actors located in Slovenia do not need this ethnic qualification, which is restricted here to the organizations of the Slovenes who are Italian citizens). This is due to a series of reasons. First of all we have underlined that the source appears less sensitive (at least for the first years in the file) to the interactions with Yugoslavia. Secondly most of the events enacted by these organizations are of the homoethnic type and this is another barrier to its inclusion in the reports of an Italian newspaper.

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.
Italian	-	2	1	2	2	4	8	22	12	53
Friulian	8	8	23	17	16	7	28	19	33	159
Sloven.	-	1	1	-	4	-	2	4	8	20

Tab.29 - Ethnic characterization of the actors by year

Thirdly, some of the interactions promoted by these organizations fall under the heading of transactions (visiting of parents and friends, touring for recreation) and are not recorded here among the events.

5.5. Transfrontier interactions with the Alpe-Adria partners

We have already said something about the peculiarities of the transfrontier interactions confronting them with the other transnational relations of Friuli-Venetia Julia. We will look now at the relations with the Alpe-Adria partners in more detail, starting from a comparison of the flows during the years coded in the file for the bilateral interactions; the multilateral relations will follow below.

	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977	Tot.
Carinthia	(4+9)	(13+15)	(14+16)	(19+20)	(14+27)	(15+23)	(24+19)	(29+64)	(23+40)	(59+253)
Tot.	13	28	30	39	41	39	43	113	63	409
Styria	(0+0)	(0+3)	(4+6)	(2+1)	(3+4)	(8+11)	(5+2)	(8+15)	(10+5)	(41+47)
Tot.	0	3	10	3	7	20	7	23	15	88
Slovenia	(3+4)	(2+3)	(5+13)	(14+41)	(20+58)	(16+33)	(23+29)	(23+66)	(24+70)	(130+317)
Tot.	7	5	18	55	78	49	52	89	94	447
Croatia	(0+1)	(0+2)	(3+5)	(7+8)	(8+16)	(4+18)	(8+22)	(14+19)	(18+19)	(62+110)
Tot.	1	2	8	15	24	22	30	33	37	172
Tot.	21	38	66	112	150	130	132	258	209	1116

Tab.30 - Bilateral interactions with the partners of the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region

NB: Second digit in brackets = the place of interaction was in F.V.J.

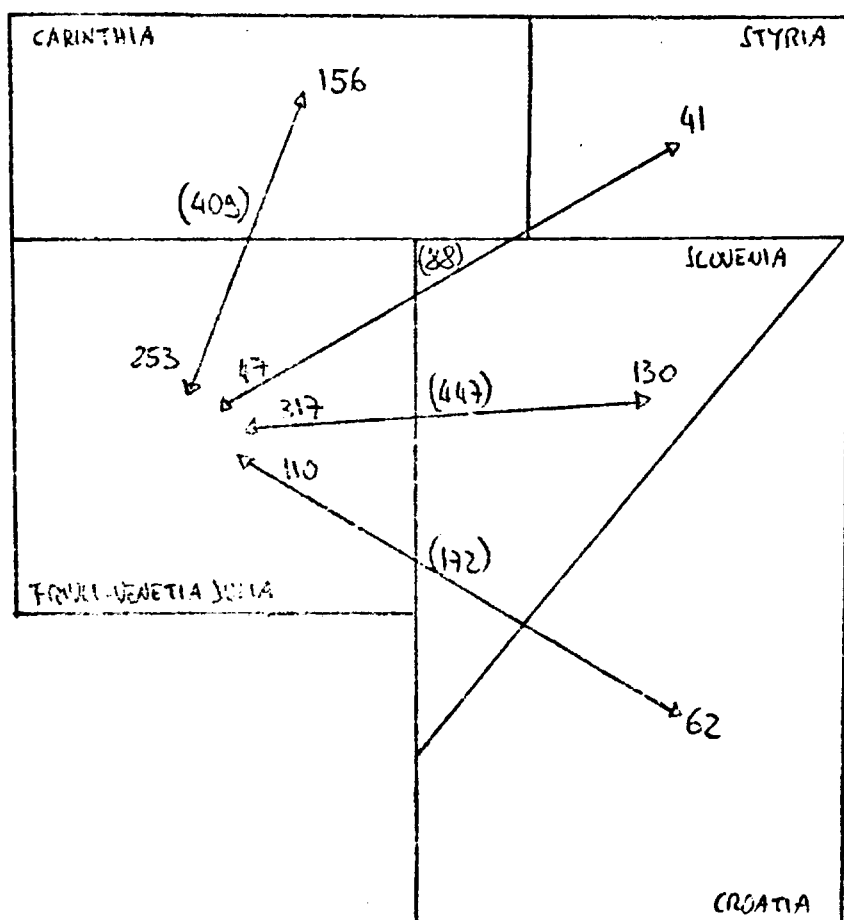


Fig. 30 - Total bilateral interactions of F.V.J. with Alpine-Adria partners

It can be noted that Styria and Croatia are much less active than the cross-border Carinthia and Slovenia, which is quite understandable from a Friuli Venetia Julia point of view. The comparison between the last two is slightly in favour of Slovenia considering all the events. In fact, during the first years Slovenia appears as a weak partner^{where_as}, from 1963 the interactions increase more than proportionally showing, however a time lag between the opening of the frontier in 1955 and the complete restoring of the interactive patterns. The relations with Carinthia reveal instead that it reached earlier, a certain degree of maturity, here meant as stability or peak interactive potential. This can be noted also from the fact that, while the relations with Carinthia (and also Styria), after the rearing of 1976, seem to return to the previous levels, the relations with Slovenia (and also Croatia) continue to grow. It can be further underlined that, while the interactions with Carinthia that occur in this region are almost 38% of the total interactions with this partner (Styria 47%), in the case of Slovenia they are only 29% (Croatia 36%). This may suggest that the interactions with the Yugoslav partners are actually more frequent than appears from the data in the file, since the source is possibly less sensitive to events that happen outside the Friuli-Venetia Julia Region when the locus of interaction is a Yugoslav instead of an Austrian one. The alternative hypothesis is that Slovenian and Croatian actors are more prone to go outside than to host transnational interactions on its territory, but this seems not to be the case.

As a general remark, looking especially at the data of the last years in the file, we can say that the Alpe-Adria region, as seen from Friuli-Venetia Julia, is much more a matter of three border regions than of the five examined here, with the possible

Tab. 31 - Bilateral interactions of F.V.J. located actors with Alpe-Adria partners

	Carinthia %		Styria %		Slovenia %		Croatia %		Tot %	
F.V.J.	64	32,6	21	10,8	79	40,5	31	15,9	195	100,0
%	16,1		24,7		18,5		18,9		18,1	
UDINE	95	46,1	9	4,4	72	34,9	30	14,6	206	100,0
%	23,9		10,6		16,6		18,3		19,2	
UD-PROV.	148	61,7	15	6,2	66	27,5	11	4,6	240	100,0
%	37,2		17,6		15,4		6,7		22,3	
PORDENONE	7	18,4	3	7,9	15	39,5	13	34,2	38	100,0
%	1,7		3,5		3,5		7,9		3,5	
PN-PROV.	5	18,5	2	7,4	11	40,8	9	33,3	27	100,0
%	1,3		2,4		2,6		5,5		2,5	
GORIZIA	46	28,2	5	3,1	97	59,5	15	9,2	163	100,0
%	11,6		5,9		22,7		9,2		15,2	
GO-PROV.	7	15,9	2	4,5	26	59,1	9	20,5	44	100,0
%	1,7		2,4		6,1		5,5		4,1	
TRIESTE	26	16,6	28	17,6	58	36,9	45	28,7	157	100,0
%	6,5		32,9		13,5		27,4		14,6	
TS-PROV.	-	-	-	-	4	80,0	1	20,0	5	100,0
%	-		-		0,9		0,6		0,5	
TOT.	398	37,0	85	7,9	428	39,8	164	15,3	1075	100,0
%	100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0	

exception for Croatia. More evidence on this finding will be given below when examining the multilateral interactions in the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region, while the figure 30 summarizes the situation as it appears, by looking at all the bilateral events present in the file.

We can try to assess what are the "preferences" of the Friuli-Venetia Julia located actors for interactions with the various Alpe-Adria partners. Considering first the actors located generically in Friuli-Venetia Julia (in most instances the administrative entity Friuli-Venetia Julia and in the other cases actors of the same category, but pertaining to more than one province) we can see that they follow the general pattern of interaction, with Carinthia and Slovenia as primary partners. Secondly it can be noted that the relations with Carinthia are carried out in more than 60% of the cases by actors located in Udine or in its hinterland. As regards^{to} the relations with Slovenia, Gorizia ranks first with almost 23% of the total interactions (almost 60% of all the interactions of Gorizia with the rest of the Alpe-Adria partners). Quite surprisingly Trieste is not the second partner of Slovenia, but comes after Udine and its hinterland. We have already noted that Trieste is more long-distance oriented, it can be added here, as a general finding, that all the cities are, more than their hinterlands, released from the geographical determinism that pushes to have proportionally more interactions with the closer partners. This can be clearly seen by looking at the partners in interactions with not bordering Croatia, the towns being always ahead of their respective hinterlands (Cfr. Tab. 31)

The following tables describe the levels of interaction broken down by sector of activity. We have grouped together Carinthia with

Slovenia and Croatia

	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1976	1977	Tot.
Cultural	3	-	6	16	28	23	25	32	35	166
Social	-	1	11	28	37	22	26	41	38	214
Economic	3	5	4	14	11	17	14	30	24	122
Political	2	1	5	12	27	9	17	19	34	126
Tot.	8	7	26	70	103	71	82	132	131	620

Carinthia and Styria

Cultural	6	10	10	11	13	15	15	22	27	129
Social	6	12	18	16	11	7	13	69	22	174
Economic	1	3	4	8	13	17	13	21	13	93
Political	-	6	8	7	12	20	9	24	15	101
Tot.	13	21	40	42	49	59	50	136	77	497

Tab. 32 - Bilateral interactions with Alpe-Adria partners/sector of activity by year

Styria, and Slovenia with Croatia to avoid excessive empty boxes, Styria and Croatia being, as we have already seen, relatively marginal, but not negligible partners. The aim was to try to assess whether there was any sector that started first in re-connecting the web of interactions that were destroyed by the war and, in the case of Yugoslavia, also by the post-war politics of the closure of the border.

The trends are not strikingly evident, but it can be noted that in the case of Slovenia and Croatia the economic sector was the first to establish contacts followed by the social (in most instances sports events) and the cultural ones. The political contacts seem to have reached a level of routine activity only in 1966. Quite a similar pattern can be seen from the interactions with Carinthia and Styria, with the difference that the lack of cold war trouble allow the cultural and social sectors to start about six years earlier. Economic and political sectors reveal instead a low increase in pace. (Cfr. Tab. 32).

We can now compare the distribution of the variable "sector" for the four transfrontier partners eliminating the time dimension to see whether there is any specialization in the relations undertaken with the various regions.

While the figures for the cultural sector are quite comparable to the weight of the various partners, we can note that the interactions in the research-schools sector are significantly higher with the two Yugoslavian Republics. This is due mainly to the presence, on the two sides of the border of the schools of the national minorities (Slovenes in Friuli-Venetia Julia and Italians in Slovenia and Croatia) that are very active in promoting the exchange of students and teachers. (Cfr. Tab. 33).

Sector	Carinthia	Styria	Slovenia	Croatia
Cultural	99	20	93	41
Research education	9	1	20	14
Cultural	108	21	113	55
	26,3	7,1	38,0	18,5
		23,9	25,2	31,9
Sports	62	3	138	35
Ethnic rel.	25		3	-
Religion	6	-	5	3
Ass. rel.	66	12	13	7
Social	159	15	159	45
	38,8	4,0	42,1	11,9
		17,0	35,5	26,2
Economic	46	23	53	35
Tourism	8	3	5	4
Transp.reg.planning	9	4	19	6
Economic	63	30	77	45
	15,4	14,4	35,6	20,8
		35,2	17,2	26,2
Political	63	17	96	27
Militarism	17	4	3	-
Political	80	21	99	27
	19,5	9,2	43,6	11,9
		23,9	22,1	15,7
Tot.	410	87	448	172
	100,0	7,9	40,0	15,4
		100,0	100,0	100,0
				1117
				227
				100,0
				215
				100,0
				378
				100,0
				297
				100,0

Tab.33 - Bilateral interactions with Alpe-Adria partners by sector of activity

Sports events are much more a matter of interaction with bordering Carinthia and Slovenia. The quasi-bordering Croatia stands as an important third. The events that fall into the ethnic relations sector are present most of all in the Friuli-Carinthia dyad; the organization of "friendship festivals" being a long established opportunity of meeting for the populations of the bordering towns of Tarvisio/Arnoldstein, Pontebba/ Hermagor, Timau/Kötschach. Similar events are organized also on the Italian/Yugoslav border, but most of the time these events are of the homoethnic type (internal to the Slovene communities living on the two sides of the border) and are not recorded on the source, that we have already noted as not very sensitive to this kind of event.

Transfrontier interactions in the religious sector play a marginal role; the assistance relief sector is instead quite important in the relations with the two Austrian Länders. This is due almost totally to the massive relief activity carried out by actors of these two Länders on ^{the} occasion of the 1976 earthquakes. It must be remembered also ^{that} the relief activity of Slovenia and Croatia has been quite important, especially if we take into account that also several towns of Slovenia were hurt by the seismic events.

In the case of the economic interactions we can note that, while the absolute figures are comparably high for all the four regions, there is a more than proportional presence of the "second row" transfrontier partners, Styria and Croatia. This is due to the presence and importance of the two economic poles of Graz and Zagreb that, especially through their annual economic fairs, are important points of reference for the Friulian economic actors.

In the political field the figures are proportional ^{to} the weight

of the four regions. The presence of events in the military sector is due, once again, to the relief activities and, marginally, to the custom of the border officials to meet, to exchange greetings at the beginning of the new year.

The following tables show the presence of actors of the intranational governmental and non-governmental levels from the Alpine-Adria regions in transfrontier bilateral interactions with Friuli-Venetia Giulia. The other levels and the missing values are omitted since they are quite marginal in this case. The provincial actor, inside the intranational governmental level, does not appear since it is present only in the Italian administrative subdivision. (Cfr. Tab. 34)

The figures for the various items of the intranational non-governmental level confirm what has been said for the variable "sector" above. This is not surprising, since the subdivision runs quasi-parallel. It can only be underlined that, while the activity of the parties is wholly marginal in the case of Carinthia and Styria, the League of Communists has been much more active in having meetings with delegations, ^{from} the Friulian "sections" of the Italian parties.

Looking at the relations with Slovenia and Croatia an important finding can be noted: the actors who first established contacts with Friuli-Venetia Giulia belonged to the intranational non-governmental level. Only later the more official actors (the governments of the two Republics and the city governments) start to be increasingly active. This trend would be even more evident if we had include among these actors also the Communist party, which in general falls under the heading of the intranational non-governmental actors, but in Yugoslavia plays a more institutional role.

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	%
Region	1	8	3	2	4	9	5	16	9	13,3
City	3	7	8	9	14	15	9	19	15	23,0
Political	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	1,2
Economic	1	-	3	5	9	8	6	17	12	14,6
Cultural	4	7	8	11	8	10	10	21	17	22,3
Sports	2	5	14	6	5	5	8	15	6	15,4
Other	1	2	1	-	-	1	4	26	9	10,2
Tot.	12	29	37	33	40	49	45	118	68	430
Gov %	(33,3)	(51,7)	(29,7)	(33,3)	(45,0)	(50,0)	(31,1)	(29,7)	(35,3)	

Slovenia + Croatia

										%
Region	-	2	2	6	14	7	12	12	18	12,9
City	-	-	2	4	11	11	6	11	19	11,4
Political	-	-	2	3	3	2	7	6	14	6,6
Economic	1	4	3	7	7	7	5	19	15	12,1
Cultural	1	-	4	11	24	14	17	27	24	21,7
Sports	-	1	8	26	32	18	23	37	22	29,6
Other	1	-	3	6	5	2	4	4	7	5,7
Tot.	3	7	26	63	96	61	74	116	119	563
Gov %	(0,0)	(28,6)	(15,4)	(15,9)	(26,0)	(29,4)	(24,3)	(19,8)	(39,5)	

Tab.34 - Transfrontier partners in bilateral interactions by year

In the case of Carinthia and Styria no particular trend can be observed. We can thus compare the composition for the four regions looking at all the data together. It can be said in general that the Yugoslavian actors are represented by a minor share of intranational governmental actors, the difference lying entirely in the fact that the city governments are not as active as could be expected.

5.6. Multilateral interactions

All the analysis carried out to this point was mainly based on the bilateral type of interactions. We will now examine briefly the multilateral interactions, making comparisons with the bilateral ones to see if any important differences in some crucial variables emerge.

We have already noted, in the section dedicated to the analysis of the level of aggregation variable that, the multilateral events, over the years, increase their share towards the total of the events coded in the file, the overall percentage being 20%. We will not examine the trends for the multilateral events for two reasons. First of all the relatively low number of the events of this type causes low significance in the trends that can be possibly identified. Secondly all the trends that can be identified confirm what was ^{previously} found for all the events taken together.

The comparison of multilateral vs. bilateral events shows first of all that the research schools is the sector where the multilateral events have the greatest relative increase, rising from 5,5% to 16,4% of the total. This is because the typical way of expression of this kind of event is the international confe-

	Bilateral		Multilateral		Tot.	
CULTURAL	1387	33.3	222	26.3	1609	32.1
RESEARCH-SCHOOLS	228	5.5	138	16.4	366	7.3
ECONOMIC	467	11.2	109	12.9	576	11.5
POLITICAL	442	10.6	56	6.6	498	9.9
EMIGRATION-ETHN. REL.	105	2.5	4	.5	109	2.2
TOURISM	131	3.1	18	2.1	149	3.0
SPORT	459	11.0	203	24.1	662	13.2
TRANSPORT REGION. PLANNING	94	2.3	38	4.5	132	2.6
MILITARY	199	4.8	26	3.1	225	4.5
RELIGION	98	2.4	6	.7	1.4	2.1
DIPLOMATIC	217	5.2	7	.8	224	4.5
ASSISTANCE RELIEF	343	8.2	17	2.0	360	7.2
Tot.	4170	83.2	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Fig. 35 - Sector by level of aggregation

	Bilateral		Multilateral		Tot.	
EXHIBITIONS	1694	40.6	336	39.8	2030	40.5
CEREMONIAL MEETINGS	869	20.8	92	10.9	961	19.2
VISITS/INSPECTIONS	384	9.2	87	10.3	471	9.4
CONFERENCES	132	3.2	239	28.3	371	7.4
OPERATIVE MEETINGS	1091	26.2	90	10.7	1181	23.6
Tot.	4170	83.2	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Fig. 36 - Behavioral category by level of aggregation

rence and we can see from the variable describing the behavioral category of the event that the conferences change from a low 3,2% to a high 28,3% of the events in multilateral interactions. The cultural sector, while reducing their share to 26,3%, remains an important source of multilateral events: most of the time musical and folklore meetings (together with the research and school sector, the enlarged cultural sector accounts for 42,7% of the multilateral interactions). Also the economic sector plays a quite important role in multilateral events, the international trade fairs being the most typical example of this kind of activity. Related to the economic sector, several events (conferences) can be noted ... on the matters of the regional and transport planning.

The sports sector doubled its weight in the multilateral events, the absolute value being also quite high (second after the cultural events). Several international sports tournaments have been coded especially, as will be seen below, in the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region; sport being quite frequently used as a means of expression to underline the friendship among the transfrontier populations.

All the other items of the variable sector show instead either a reduced or ^anegligible presence in the multilateral type of interactions. One can only underline the above-seen finding: the relief activities, ^{the} on occasion of the 1976 earthquakes, have been mostly a bilateral type of interaction (cfr. the assistance-relief sector).

To complete the comments on the behavioral category table it can be said that, what is gained by the item "conferences", which are a typical expression of the multilateral interactions, is lost in two typically more bilateral ways of interacting: the

ceremonial and the "operative" meetings. The other items maintain approximately the same percentage in the two types of interactions. As regards to the locus where interactions occurred, the percentage of events that happened in Friuli-Venetia Julia lowers from 75 to 70% in the case of multilateral interactions. This can be due to a bias induced by the source of the data. In fact it is less likely that a newspaper can ignore an event that happens abroad when it is multilateral and, as such, on average, a more important event.

Locus	Multilateral		Eilateral	
		%		%
Friuli-Venetia Julia	593	70,1	3145	75,5
Austria	68	8,1	281	6,8
Yugoslavia	47	5,6	213	5,0
Other countries	136	16,2	531	12,7
Tot.	844	100,0	4170	100,0

Tab. 37 - Multilateral/Bilateral events by locus of interaction

Commenting^{on} the last variable used here to describe the multilateral interactions, the functional level of the first actor, we can note first of all the increased role in promoting transnational events carried out by the international governmental and non-governmental organizations. This is not surprising, since multilaterality is the distinctive character of this type of actor. The nation-state actor becomes even more marginal in the multilateral interactions, while something more can be said about the role of the various international governmental actors. The province almost disappears.

	Bilateral		Multilateral		Tot.	
IGO	53	1.3	31	3.7	84	1.7
INGO	18	.4	27	3.2	45	.9
NATION-STATE	210	5.0	27	3.2	237	4.7
REGIONAL GOV.	278	6.7	61	7.2	339	6.8
PROVINCIAL GOV.	55	1.6	3	.4	68	1.4
CITY GOV.	543	13.0	66	7.8	609	12.1
POLITICAL ORG	61	1.5	5	.6	66	1.3
ECONOMIC ORG.	336	8.1	108	12.8	444	8.9
CULTURE MUSIC	1163	27.9	70	8.3	1233	24.6
SPORTS ORG.	381	9.1	129	15.3	510	10.2
INDUSTRY	152	3.6	17	2.0	169	3.4
RESEARCH EDUCAT.	109	2.6	62	7.3	171	3.4
EMIGRANTS ASS.	56	1.3	2	.2	58	1.2
ASSIST. RELIEF	65	1.6	7	.8	72	1.4
OTHER ORGANIZ.	142	3.4	17	2.0	159	3.2
INDIVIDUALS	132	3.2	7	.8	139	2.8
MISSING	406	9.7	205	24.3	611	12.2
Tot.	4170	83.2	844	16.8	5014	100.0

Tab. 38 - Organizer/host actors by level of aggregation

but the region and the city governments maintain an important role. While the presence of the regions is even ^{more} emphasized in the multilateral events, the cities reduce their presence from 13% to 7,8%. This last figure needs to be taken with caution. It can be noted that the missing values change from 9,7%, in the case of bilateral events, to 24,3%. This is due to the fact that the source, in a considerable amount of cases, did not report clearly the nature of the organizer in the case of certain cultural events.

If the information had been more accurate we would have seen the share of cultural and musical organizations to increase accordingly (the 8,3% reported is in fact an underestimation of the real presence of these organizations in multilateral interactions). But some of the cultural and musical events are certainly also organized under the sponsorship or direct intervention of the local administration and ⁱⁿ this way a part of the missing values are to be attributed to this actor, thus reducing the discrepancy with its percentage in bilateral interactions. The intra-national non-governmental actors (voluntary associations) reproduce the situation already commented ^{on} when describing the variable "sector". It can only be underlined that the parties almost disappear as organizers of multilateral interactions. The same can be said for the individuals not formally organized.

We will not insist here on the analysis of the multilateral interactions and, in particular, we will not attempt to explore the geographical dimension, taking into account that, at a global level, almost any multilateral interaction involves a unique set of actors. Also, in several instances, only the organizer (first actor) was coded, since the number of the participants exceeded the maximum of eight, foreseen in the file. This kind of analysis is

instead more manageable for the interactions among the partners of the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region. It needs only to be pointed out that, to be more precise, we should consider as really multilateral, from an interstate point of view, only the interactions that involve at least three actors belonging to three different nation-states. This definition has been relaxed here according to our transnational perspective and to our willingness to map precisely the interactions in our "core" object of analysis (the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region). We can see however that starting from 1963 the true multilateral interactions are the greatest part of all the multilateral interactions considered.

	Pure multilat.	"False" multilat.	Total
1957	-	-	-
1960	-	1	1
1963	5	1	6
1965	10	1	11
1969	19	1	20
1972	20	-	20
1975	18	5	23
1976	27	10	37
1977	23	5	28
Tot.	122	24	146

Tab.39 - Multilateral interactions in the Alpe-Adria by year

The increase in the "false" multilateral interactions from 1975 on, is due almost totally to a new pattern that sees the actors of Slovenia and Croatia visiting Friuli-Venetia Julia together. This

finding has been visualized in the little maps designed below, where can also be noted that two other findings, already commented on, are confirmed. Firstly, the fact that the transfrontier relations in the Alpe-Adria region are in most instances a matter of the three bordering Friuli-Venetia Julia, Carinthia and Slovenia. Secondly, the source is far more sensitive to events that happened in Friuli, as can be seen from the figures included in the lower left square of the stylized geographical maps. It needs to be remembered that the multilateral interactions considered here are only a sample of all those that occurred during the period of time considered; the years considered in the file being (except for the last two years) one out of three. This means that the figures are to be considered not so much in absolute values but for the relative weight that they give to the various configurations of multilateral interactions. For example the interactions of all the five partners together were in twenty years more than the two recorded here, but their occurrence was accordingly low in comparison to the interactions among Friuli-Venetia Julia, Carinthia and Slovenia.

As regards to the sectors of activity involved in these events, it must be underlined that only a few of these events involved the economic and especially political sphere. Most of these multilateral interactions belong in fact to the cultural and especially the social sector (the greatest part of social interactions being sports events). This might suggest that up to the stage of development examined in the file (1977) the relations within the Alpe-Adria transfrontier regions are essentially a matter of bilateral interactions (as we have seen these have had a huge increase over the years). Moreover, it can be perceived that multilateral inter-

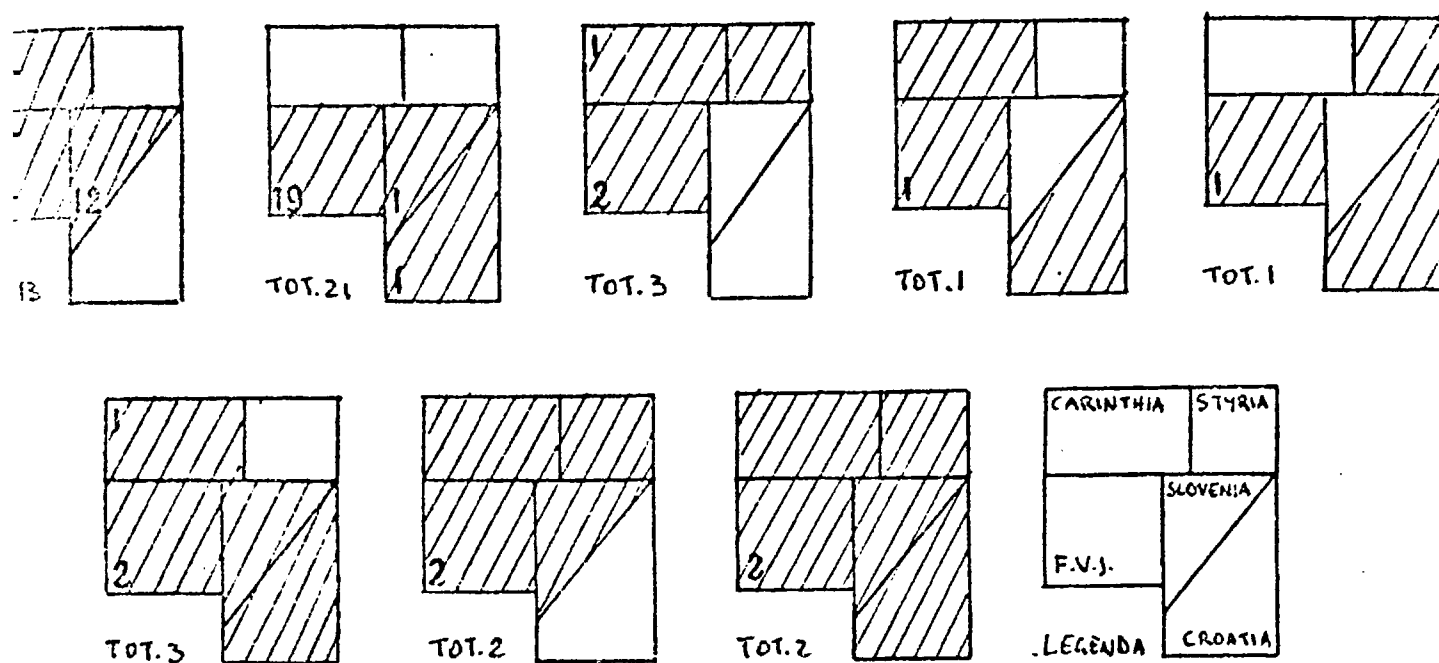


Fig. 31 - Multilateral interactions in the Alpe-Adria

	57	60	63	66	69	72	75	76	77	Tot.	
Cultural	-	-	2	3	10	7	7	10	7	46	31,3
Social	-	1	3	5	8	11	12	19	13	72	49,7
Economic	-	-	1	2	3	-	4	5	5	20	13,6
Political	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	3	8	5,4
Tot.	-	1	6	11	21	20	23	36	28	146	100,0

Tab. 40 - Multilateral interactions in the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region by sector of activity

actions are in a preliminary interlocutory stage, where the actors in the cultural and social fields are preparing the conditions for a further stage of more integrative efforts at the economic and political levels.

5.7. The structural determinants of the levels of interaction

So far, the analysis has been conducted on a data file that has, as its unit of analysis, the single event-interaction. It may be conducted, alternatively, having as a unit of analysis the single nation-state with which the region Friuli-Venetia Julia holds transnational relations. The latter path has been followed here, restricting the field to the levels of interaction of Friuli with the European countries. Friuli has significant relations with only a few countries outside Europe and the inclusion of all nations in the world in the file would not have improved our ability to identify the structural determinants of the levels of interaction. Once the analysis is carried out on a European basis, it will be quite easy to take account of the presence of relations with several overseas countries and of the exceptions to this pattern.

The new data-file takes the levels of interaction in 1975 and 1977 as dependent variables. A choice of independent variables has been introduced to try to identify which are the best predictors, or sources of variation in the dependent ones. The test has been made only for the years 1975 and 1977 since the analysis for all the years in the original file would imply the insertion also for the independent variables^{of} the complete time series (at least for those variables that change their value across time). The year 1975 has been inserted both to control whether the correlations are stable across time and to check whether the preceeding level of interactions is a good predictor (1976 was not included because of the accidental variations in the data induced by the earthquakes).

To put it another way: in this section an attempt is made to relate the data that originate from the research to those structural aspects of the Friulian situation that have been discussed in the third chapter of this work. Not all of them are of course apt for a statistical analysis: i.e. the ethnic situation is useful to explain only part of the levels of interaction with neighbouring Yugoslavia.

The variables employed as predictors have been the following:

a): the Gross National Product of the European nations in 1974 (7)

b): the population in 1974 (8)

c): the level (sum of imports and exports) of economic exchange of the nation considered with Italy in 1974 (9). It has to be pointed out that the level of economic exchanges of Friuli-Venetia Julia alone would be a more accurate measure of the links of this region with the rest of Europe. However the figures on trade can only very approximately be disaggregated at a regional level, since it is difficult to distinguish between goods that are destined to the Friulian market or produced in Friuli-Venetia Julia, from those that are merely in transit through the regional ports and border crossings.

d) Alliances: this variable lists the nation-states along a continuum representing the international alliances to which the European states belong (from a minimum to a maximum of proximity to the Italian Position). The scale has been built as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>Countries</u>
1	communists (Warsaw pact)	U.R.S.S. - G.D.R. - Hungary Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia
2	non-aligned pro-communists	- - - - -
3	non-aligned	Yugoslavia, Albania
4	non-aligned pro-occidental	Turkey
5	occidental non-EEC	Spain, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Portugal, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Greece, Cyprus, Malta
6	EEC countries	France, U.K, F.R.G. - Belgium Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark, Luxembourg.

Tab. 42 - Code for the variable "alliances".

The code "non-aligned pro-communists" (2) is empty because the variable was originally built on a world basis. No European country falls into the such definition, but it seemed wise to keep all the steps of the original variable.

e) Emigrants: the nation-states have been also ordered taking into account the amount of Friulian emigrants present there (1977) (10).

The European countries have been grouped as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Presence of Friulian emigrants</u>	<u>Countries</u>
0	from 0 to 50 persons	U.R.S.S.- Rumania, Turkey Finland, Bulgaria, Ireland Albania, Iceland, Cyprus, Malta.
1	from 51 to 200 persons	Poland, G.D.R. - Czechoslo- vakia, Denmark, Norway Hungary, Greece, Portugal, Liechthenstein, Monaco
2	from 201 to 2000 persons	U.K., Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Austria , Yugoslavia
3	from 2001 to 4000 persons	F.R.G. - France, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg.

Tab. 43- Code for the variable "emigrants"

f) Proximity: the countries have been also coded considering their spatial proximity with Friuli-Venetia Julia. The variable has been built as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>Countries</u>
5	neighbouring	Austria, Yugoslavia
4	first row	Czechošlovakia, F.R.G., Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Hungary, Rumania
3	second row	France, Monaco, Poland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece
2	rest of continental Europe	U.R.S.S. - Hungary, Spain , Portugal, Turkey, Rumania
1	Scandinavia and Islands	Norway, Sweden, Denmark, U.K. Ireland, Iceland, Malta Cyprus.

Tab. 44: Code for the variable "proximity".

g) International aid: the last variable entered into the file is the amount of aid (in thousand\$) sent to Friuli on the occasion of the 1976 earthquakes (11).

We may now examine the correlation matrix (Pearson's "r") between the variables described in the foregoing (cfr. tab. 41). It should be underlined that some continuous variables have been transformed using logarithms to normalize their distribution (12). First it can be noted that the coefficients have only a very limited variation when comparing the correlations with the events occurred in 1975 to those in 1977, so

	Trade	Alliances	Proximity	Emigrants	G.N.P.	Population	International aid	Events '75
ALLIANCES	.22	-						
PROXIMITY	.22	* -.32	-					
EMIGRANTS	* .63	* -.45	* .38	-				
G.N.P.	* .78	-.11	.15	* .40	-			
POPULATION	* .67	-.27	.11	.21	* .94	-		
INTERNATIONAL AID	* .47	.17	* .55	* .44	.24	.17	-	
EVENTS '75	* .77	.03	* .53	* .59	* .59	* .52	* .65	-
EVENTS '77	* .75	-.02	* .57	* .52	* .65	* .59	* .73	* .87

Tab. 45 - Correlation matrix (Pearson's 'r') (only non redundant coefficients)

* $P < .05$

we may tentatively state that, at least in the short term, the structural determinants do not have a random influence on the levels of interaction. The correlation between the two levels of interaction is indeed very high (.88). The preceeding level of interaction is thus the best predictor, accounting for 70% (r^2) of the variance in the dependent variable (interactions in 1977). This finding supports the hypothesis that "behavior causes behavior" (11). Transnational activity seems to be a sufficiently rewarding activity to make the actors continue in interacting (however the concept of social inertia, might also be implied) (14).

Continuing with this simple bi-variate analysis of the data we can note that another strong predictor of the interactive levels is the "import-export" variable. This is not surprising at all if we consider that this last variable is a measure of the transactions that (as we have seen in the second chapter of this work) are to be placed at the same conceptual level (process level) as the event-interactions, and that they share the same structural determinants.

Another variable strictly correlated with the level of interaction in 1977 (and 1975) is the amount of aid delivered to Friuli on the occasion of the two earthquakes of 1976. In order to explain this finding, we can easily use the same arguments, which are valid to account for the high correlation between event-interactions and economic transactions. The "international aid" variable is in fact of the same nature as the other two. This is also corroborated by the fact that international aid is well correlated even with the economic transactions of Italy (.47). This level of correlation may be considered high, especially if we take into account that the international aid was delivered to Friuli; the impor-export is instead measured on a national basis.

The difference in the correlation of the international aid with the events that occurred during the year preceeding the earthquakes (.65) and those that happened in 1977 ^{also} (.73) needs to be explained

The long-kept habit of having relations at the transnational level with Friuli-Venetia Julia probably induced in the partners a

positive attitude that was expressed ⁱⁿ the remarkable effort of undertaking solidarity initiatives. This fact has been rewarding for the actors that ... continued these initiatives, which later expanded to other sectors and levels of the transnational activity as well.

The levels of interaction are also positively correlated with the Gross National Product and the population of the European countries included in the file. The more populated and the richer a country, the more likely - frequent interactions with it are. More population means in fact more potential collective partners (governmental or not) with which to interact. Since interactions mean costly displacement of persons across the territory, the richer a country is, the more actors will be present who can afford the costs implied in being involved in transnational activities. These costs are of course lower for the neighbouring actors and this is why (together with other reasons of cultural and historical nature that we have analysed in the third chapter) the "vicinity" variable is also highly correlated with the levels of interaction.

This is true to the point that this geographical determinant even succeeds in overwhelming the variable "alliances" whose relation with the event-interactions is nil even though it was expected to be correlated with it. Friuli-Venetia Julia is positioned at the eastern borders of Nato, but this does not in any way prevent it from having significant relations with partners that are outside the alliance (Yugoslavia in particular, but also the other Communist countries). The pure geographical determinism, at the level of transnational relations, is stronger than the boundaries imposed by the artificial geopolitical sub-divisions of the world.

The "emigration" variable is well correlated with the event-interactions, but also with most of the other variables in the file, so that its influence on the levels of interaction, existing and not negligible, is partially indirect or spurious.

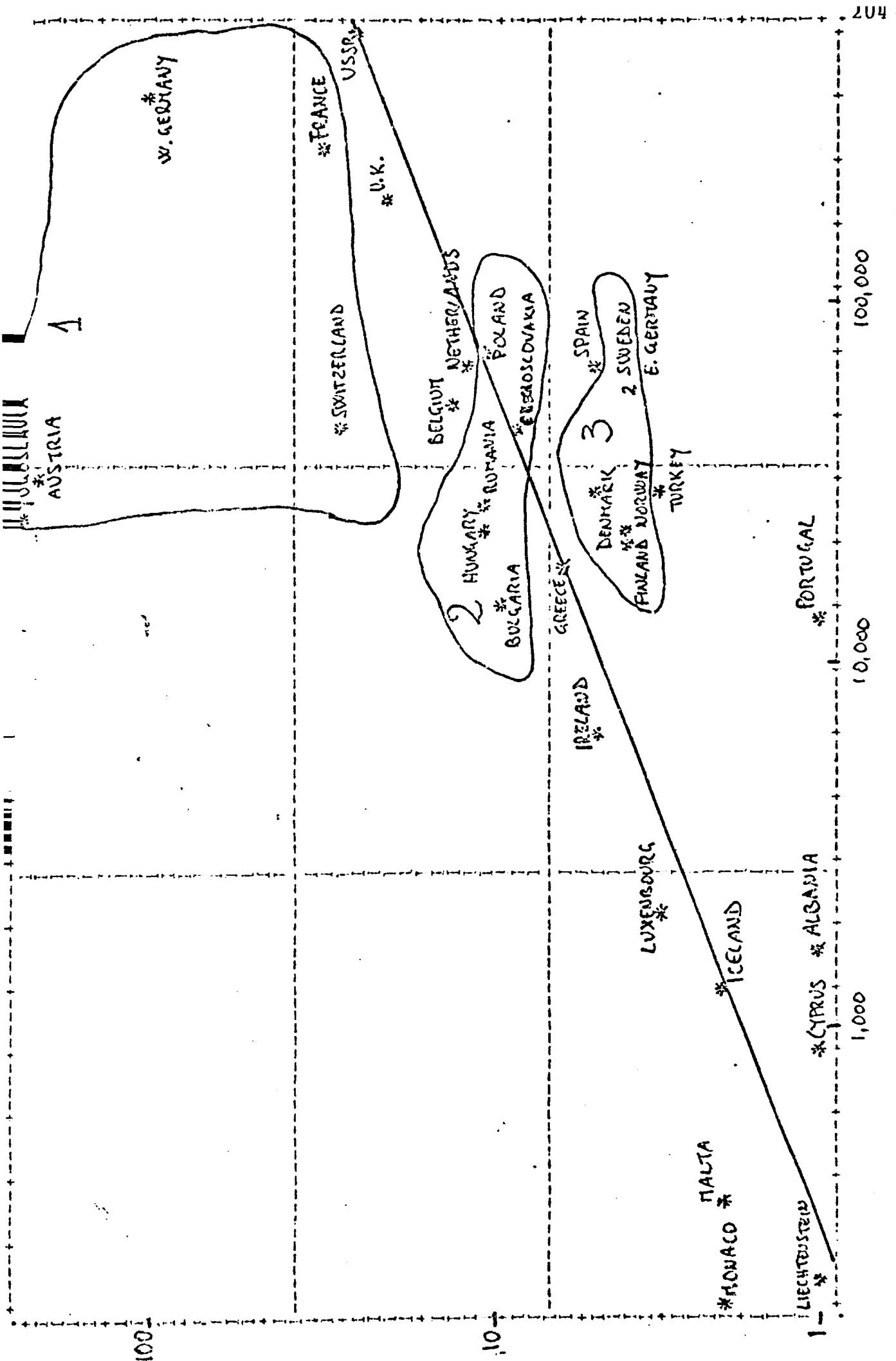


Fig. 1. Scattergram of levels of interaction in 1977 (Down) with G.N.P. (across) (Logarithmic scales)

The discussion led up to now may be summarized by a scattergram where the countries have been plotted according to two variables: 'level of interaction in 1977' and 'Gross National Product'. The two variables are represented using logarithmic scales to permit an easier visualization: otherwise most of the dots would ^{be} concentrated in the lower left side of the scattergram thus impeding 'their distinction' (cfr. fig.32). The strong relationship between the variables is shown by the fact that the position of most of the countries is quite close to the regression line. The countries that lie above it have a frequency of interactions higher than that "predicted" by the G.N.P. Among them we find the countries grouped in area 1: all of them are occidental countries, geographically very close to Friuli-Venetia Julia and also good economic partners with Italy. Also some of the countries of the communist field (area 2) lie above or on the regression line for the reasons explored below. The fact that the geographical distance penalizes, other things being equal, the likelihood of having trans-national relations is confirmed by the group of the Scandinavian countries (area 3) that lie entirely below the regression line.

This simple bi-variate analysis of the data has given a certain insight into the independent variables that may be useful in explaining the levels of interaction. We have noted, however, that several relations between the variables, while interesting for analysis at this preliminary stage, are spurious; indeed they share the same sources of variation. Before proceeding to a multivariate analysis of the data, it has been decided to eliminate the variables on trade, international aid and level of interaction in 1975.

The result of the multiple regression of the surviving variables on the level of interaction in 1977 is that, with only five independent variables, a multiple R of .84 is achieved, meaning that 70% of the variance is explained (cfr. tab. 42). The parsimony of the model is even accentuated if we consider that two variables: 'G.N.P.' and 'vicinity', take an overwhelming role, explaining alone 69% of the variance. The single "r" for the population and alliances varia-

bles is comparably high, but the correlation is, for its most part, spurious since it almost vanishes if we apply the multiple regression technique. It has to be pointed out that the opposite would have happened if, for instance, the population was entered in the regression equation before the G.N.P. In this case very little of the total variance would have to be explained by the G.N.P. Most important is that we do not need both in the model, and G.N.P. is slightly better.

The finding that comes out of the multiple regression perfectly fits into the s.c. "gravity model" which deriving from the newtonian theory, has been applied in the social sciences by the geographers (15). Using this model the size of flows between two regions can be estimated using the masses, and the distance dividing the two regions. In our case the mass is measured in terms of G.N.P. and the distance by the variable "vicinity". Our ability to "measure" social phenomena is far from being as accurate as in the physical sciences, however, it must be stated that the reduction of the unexplained variance to 30% by means of just two variables is to be considered a good result.

VARIABLE ENTERED	SIGNIFICANCE	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE	R SQUARE CHANGE	R SQUARE	SIMPLE R	OVERALL F	SIGNIFICANCE
LOO G.N.P.	.426	.65662	.43115	.43115	.43115	.65662	11.79324	.000
ALLIANCES	.115	.65864	.43380	.43380	.00265	-.02411		
PROXIMITY	.011	.83401	.69557	.69557	.26177	.56541		
EMIGRANTS	.908	.83480	.69690	.69690	.00132	.52376		
LOG:POPULATION	.508	.83801	.70226	.70226	.00536	.59036		

Tab. 46 - Multiple regression of selected independent variables on level of interaction in 1977

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Summary of findings.

Several findings emerged from the research that might be proposed as general falsifiable hypotheses. Some of them are of a more general reach and others more linked to the particular role of the frontier region, held by Friuli-Venetia Julia.

1. Levels of interaction.

1.1. After a period of border closure, or opposition to the normal pattern of interaction due to external causes, the relations between two actors tend to be reestablished, gradually increasing their occurrence.

1.2. A roof is reached after an estimated period of ten to twelve years starting from the opening of the border.

1.3. A roof is reached because there is a limit to the interactive potentialities of the actors. This roof may however be lifted up or down, due to major structural changes or due to exceptional occurrences (Osimo, earthquake).

1.4. There is a difference in the outcome induced by these two types of changes. While the structural changes in the environment tend to have long-run effects, and to develop their effect on the event-interactions slowly, the sudden discontinuities produce different? outcomes. Their effect is immediately perceivable, reaching in a short period of time the full development of their influence and, after this peak, there is a comparable, but less immediate, decay.

1.5. The levels of interaction with the transnational partners are strictly correlated with the economic transactions, since they share the same set of structural determinants.

1.6. The best predictors of the levels of interactions between two

selected partners are; the relative masses (measurable in terms of population or, better, G.N.P.) and the relative geographical proximity. The levels of interaction can thus be described in terms of a "gravity model".

1.7. One can ascertain an overall tendency towards an increasing complexification ^{of the} event-interactions revealed by the increased number of multilateral events and by an increased participants/ events ratio.

1.8. A percentual decrease of the exhibitions and a parallel slight increase in the operative meetings present in the data-file can be noted. The hypothesis of an increasing complexification of the events gains more credit worthy, since more "weighty" issues are introduced in the transnational interplay.

1.9. A monthly pattern has been seen; May and September are the peaks in a bimodal distribution of the events throughout the year.

2. Role of the actors.

2.1. A relative decline in the presence of the international actors, regardless of the creation and the development of the EEC has been ascertained.

2.2. The role of the nation-state governmental actors in transnational interactions is quite marginal, declining over time, and mostly is restricted to a side-presence in the events.

2.3. The role of the local (non central) public administrations is constantly growing, especially after the creation of the Autonomous Friuli-Venetia Giulia Region.

2.4. The intranational governmental and non-governmental actors are the most active in transnational interactions.

This is particularly true when looking at the distribution of the actors who are the organizers or hosts. Here the presence of them, especially the regional and city governments but voluntary organizations too, is even accentuated.

2.5. The slight relative decline of the bilateral interactions with actors in the EEC countries, the stagnation of the process of town twinning and the opposite growth of bilateral interactions with bordering, especially Yugoslavian, actors, suggest the hypothesis that the Friuli-Venetia Julia Region is more inclined to fulfill its role of a bridge towards East, than that of being an active actor in a "Europe of the Regions" perspective.

2.6. The overwhelming number of bilateral transfrontier interactions occurs between those that are homogeneous in our functional classification. With the increase in the dishomogeneity or distance of the actors on the scale, the occurrence of interactions is drastically reduced.

2.7. The research has ^{ascertained} an across time tendency towards a decreasing importance of the capital city of the region in favour of the other provincial centers and, in general, a more than proportional increase of the activity of the smaller centers placed in the hinterlands.

2.8. The relative decline of Trieste is more evident in the sectors where it formerly had the leadership: culture and economy. Trieste however maintains a relative political leadership due especially to the presence of the Regional headquarters.

2.9. In general, the towns are ahead of their hinterlands in political leadership and as diffusers of culture.

2.10. The cities of the region are more long-distance oriented than their hinterlands in their transnational interactions. This is not true for the classical border-town of Gorizia.

3. Transfrontier interactions.

3.1. The transfrontier sub-species of transnational interactions reveal across time an even more accentuated complexity (in terms of growth of multilateral events and increased participants/events ratio) and, moreover, more mutually involving and purposeful. This last finding is shown by the predominance of the bilateral and multilateral against the "organizer-participant(s)" type of event-interactions.

3.2. Transfrontier interactions reveal also in the "behavioral category" variable more purposefulness and greater relevance. There are no dramatical differences when comparing them with the rest of the transnational events, but a relatively more than proportional presence of meetings, visits and inspections, paralleled by a less than proportional presence of more exhibitions, can be ascertained.

3.3. Symmetrical interactions (between actors of the same functional level) are even more present in the transfrontier relations.

3.4. In the context of the Alpe-Adria transfrontier region, contacts are more likely with the closer partners. Also the multilateral events are in most instances a matter of the three bordering regions: Friuli-Venetia Julia, Carinthia and Slovenia.

3.5. Also, the disaggregation of the events by the four provinces reveals that the interactions are more frequent with the interface partners. This is not true, as it has been already seen, for the stronger centers that are less geographically determined in their preferences.

3.6. In the case of reconnection of contacts with a transfrontier partner, which was formerly interrupted, the economic sector comes first, followed by the cultural and social one, and last, the political sector.

3.7. In the case of reconnection of contacts with Yugoslavia at a transnational level, the first actors to move were those that belonged to the intranational non-governmental level (the non-official ones).

APPENDIX .

T R E N D

Fonte M V data 18 1 72 pag. 4 TS
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14 1 72 5 26 : commenti alla conclusione

Data ev. (inizio) 17 1 72
Descrizione evento

Ieri 17 c.m. a TS il consulente pedagogico
per le scuole italiane dell'Istria ha presen-
ziato all'apertura del seminario di aggior-
namento degli insegnanti delle scuole italian
dell'Istria e di Fiume.

Data ev. (inizio) 12 1 72

Descrizione evento

Ieri 12 c. m. a Wurnbad di Villacco si sono
iniziati gli incontri della delegazione ita-
liana e austriaca per l'autostrada e il tra-
foro. Presenti gli assessori ai lavori pub-
blici e all'urbanistica del Friuli-Venezia
Giulia e i direttori dei predetti assessorati

T R E N D

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T R E N D

N. 27

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Data ov. (inizio)

Descrizione evento

Nei giorni scorsi una delegazione di operatori turistici e rappresentanti dei circoli sportivi del'FVG si è incontrata a Bad Kleinkirchheim con l'assessore al turismo della Carinzia e con il sindaco.

Data ov. (inizio) .. 15.1.76

Descrizione evento

IL 16 c.m. a Villaco incontrp tra Cocianni e il vicepresidente carinziano. Con Cocianni erano presenti Comelli e Stopper

EVENT NUMBER	SOURCE	MOORING	BOAT	COLLUSUS	SECTION	AMBU	DATE	MONTH	YEAR	BURIAL	ACADEM	PARTICIP	SEAT	SECTOR	SECTOR	REMARK	ACTOR 1	LOCAT 1	ETHNIC 1	ACTOR 2	LOCAT 2	ETHNIC 2	ACTOR 3	LOCAT 3	ETHNIC 3	ACTOR 4	LOCAT 4	ETHNIC 4	ACTOR 5	LOCAT 5	ETHNIC 5	ACTOR 6	LOCAT 6	ETHNIC 6	ACTOR 7	LOCAT 7	ETHNIC 7	ACTOR 8	LOCAT 8	ETHNIC 8		
81121065106411210172332330310383213031202071																																										
12111043023117017211323238033785423812134315434311																																										
18111023103011310176113430308335203031462061243031382061																																										
2311107510641160176113230305311203031202071																																										

APPENDIX II : Sample of code-sheet (the events here coded are those exemplified in Annex I).

APPENDIX III

Definitions of items of the variable "sector" (according to the "nature" of the event and/or major concern of the actors involved)

CULTURAL

To this category belong all the events that, because of the type of actor involved or the matter of the transaction, can be referred to the broad issue-area of culture. In this area are to be included the arts, music, literature, cinema, photography, theatre. All the events referring to activities in the field of education, schools, technology, and research are to be excluded because they form a separate categories.

RESEARCH, EDUCATION

All that refers to the study and application of discoveries in all the fields of scientific research, included the activity of universities and of other public or private research institutions and all that refers to the activity of schools and other educational institutions, included the exchanges of students and visits of students abroad.

ECONOMIC

All that refers to trade, industry, finance, etc. Any type of economic agreements, support, exchange or fixing of customs tariffs.

POLITICAL

All the events that refer to behaviours or declarations that try to modify or maintain the interrelating systems. In this category will fall all the meetings that have a rather general, purposeful,

character. To these meetings usually participate governmental actors or those classified as political organizations.

EMIGRATION AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Events that involve emigrants or associations of emigrant or that affect these actors and events that involve ethnic organizations or affect ethnic groups as such.

TOURISM

All the events that refer to the activity of Tourist Boards, tourist associations and the promotion of tourism.

SPORT

All the sport events and the meetings, conferences on this matter.

COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORT AND REGIONAL PLANNING

All that refers to the use, improvement, creation of means of communication of people, goods, energy and information and the activities of regional and city planning.

MILITARY

All that refers to armies, armaments, military operations.

RELIGIOUS

All that refers to the activity of churches, religious associa-

DIPLOMATIC

All that refers to the diplomatic services and their activity.

ASSISTANCE RELIEF

All the events related to the activity of assistance and relief associations, in particular the activities related to the international aid in occasion of the 1976 earthquakes in Friuli.

